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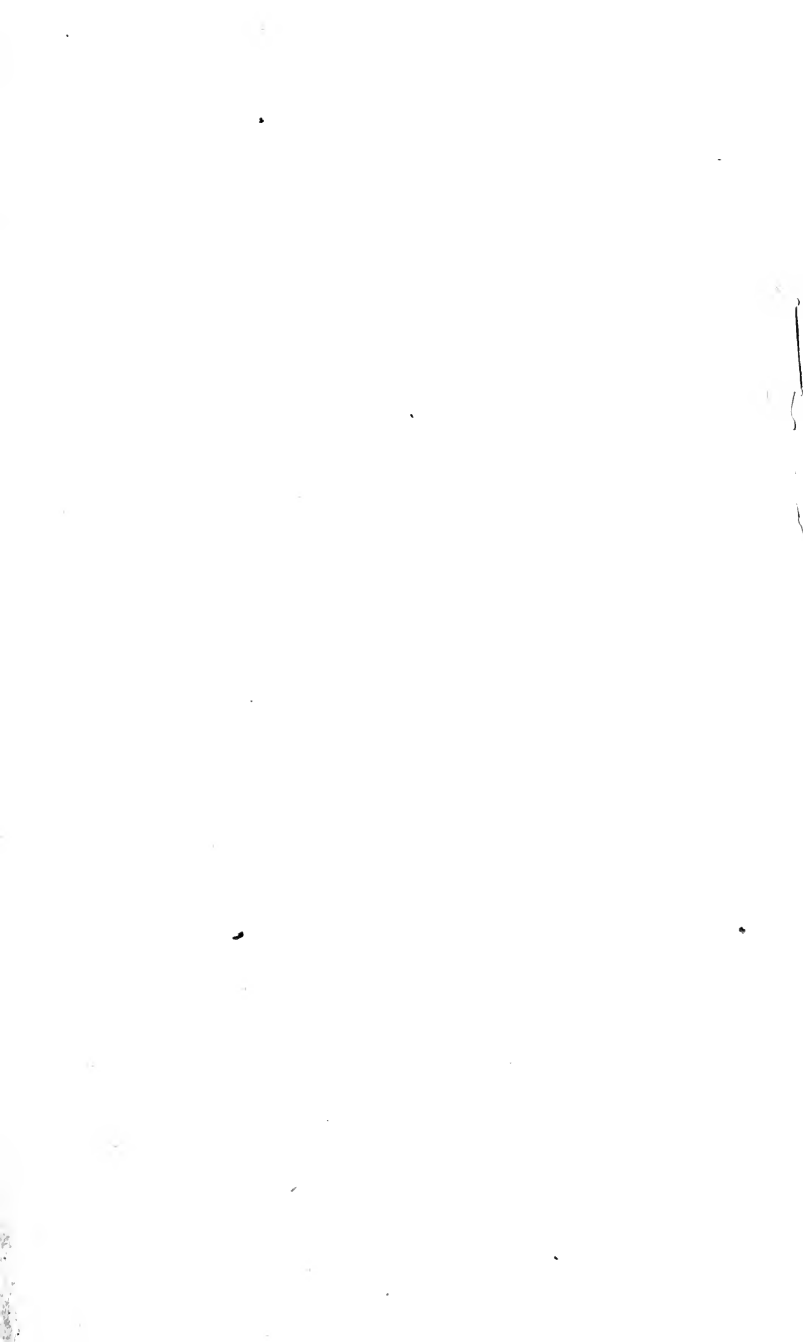


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THE
HISTORY
OF
POLYBIUS

The MEGALOPOLITAN:

CONTAINING

A General Account

OF THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WORLD.

And Principally of the

ROMAN PEOPLE.

During the First and Second *Punick* Wars, &c.

Translated by Sir H. S.

V O L. II. III.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Samuel Briscoe*, at the Corner of *Charles-Street*, in *Covent-Garden*. MDC XC VIII.

ADAMS

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ILLYRIDIS

THACIE PARS

PARS

MACE

Promontis

DO
Altopia

NIA

MAR EGEUM

PARS
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EUROEA

Phocia

Achaia

Aegaea

CYCLA

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Rhodus

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the Place mentioned
in Polybius
by S. H. S.

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P O L Y B I U S ' s
General History
O F T H E
T R A N S A C T I O N S
O F T H E
W O R L D.

VOL. II. BOOK IV.

IN our foregoing Book we have related the Causes of the Second War that fell out between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*: We have delivered the Particulars of *Hannibal's* March, and Invasion of *Italy*; and have recounted the Adventures of the two Armies, to the Time of the Battle that was fought on the Banks of the River *Aufidus*,
A near

near *Cannæ*. Now the Occurrences of *Greece*, during the same Period of time, shall be the Subject of our Pains. But we have thought it necessary to remind the Reader briefly: First, Of what hath been already observ'd of the *Greeks* in our second Book, and principally of the *Achaians*. Inasmuch as it hath so come to pass, that in the short space of ours and our Fathers Days, that Republick hath grown to a marvellous Greatness. For being founded by *Tisamenus*, one of the Sons of *Orestes*, we have observ'd that the *Achaians* were first govern'd by Kings, who sprang from him in a continu'd Line of Succession to the Reign of *Ogyges*: From whose time, the supreme Power being translated to the People, became establish'd in an excellent form of Government: Which was afterward first broken and dissolv'd by the Kings of *Macedon*, when the Cities and Towns thereof became independent; each governing according to their own Rules, without any common Subjection to a supreme general Tribunal, to which they might have recourse. After this 'Revolution, we shew'd how they came to unite and incorporate into one Body; at what time it was that they came to this Resolution; and who they were that gave the Occasion. In short, we have related by what Means and Counsels the Towns being drawn to unite, the whole People of *Peloponnesus* grew to have one common Appellation, and

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Book IV. *of the World.*

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to be under one and the same Form of Common-wealth. After having treated in general of that Enterprize, and said something in particular touching the Actions of the *Achai-ans*, we pursu'd the Story down to the time, that *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedæmonians* was despoiled of his Government. Then we gave a brief Recapitulation of general Occurrences to the Death of *Antigonus*, *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy*, who all dy'd about the same time; having promis'd to begin our History at that Period, which gave an end to those Matters we have now last recited.

In conclusion, I determin'd, that I could not any where better begin than from thence: First, In regard that there *Aratus* finisheth his Commentaries, so that by continuing the Thread of his Discourse, we shall thereby make the relation of the *Greek* Affairs, as far as we propose to touch them, all of a piece; and then it will come to pass, that the time succeeding, and that which shall compose our History, will be so united to the foregoing Period, that in part what shall be related of our own, and the Transactions of our Fathers Days, will be compriz'd in one Body. For as I have been a Witness to a good part of what shall be deliver'd, and compos'd the rest from the Relations of such as could yield me the like certain Testimony; so I have shun'd the delivering of remoter

Occurrences, through the Doubts to which they are subjected: And have thought nothing worthy of an Historian's Pen beyond that Period. Nor indeed can Truth farther fairly be shewn, nor men consequently safely judge of any thing they hear otherwise delivered. A farther particular Motive we had for taking our beginning from thence was, that Fortune seemed at that time to have made an universal Revolution, and given a new Face to the Affairs of the World.

Tho *Philip*, Son of *Demetrius*, were yet a Child, nevertheless he soon came to sway the Scepter of *Macedon*. *Achaus*, who govern'd the Countries of *Asia* on this side Mount *Taurus*, did not only bear the Port of a Prince, but was in effect vested with Sovereign Authority. *Antiochus*, surnamed the Great, a little before succeeded his Brother in the Kingdom of *Syria*; he being then but very young. And *Ariarathes* took possession at the same time of the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, which was deliver'd into his Hands. About the same time *Ptolemy Philopater* reduced *Egypt* to his Obedience. And a little after *Lycurgus* became established King of the *Lacedaemonians*. The *Carthaginians* on that side had newly made *Hannibal* their General, in order to those Attempts we have already recounted. So that the Government, as one may say, of the World being put into new hands, it could not by the Law of Nature but beget new Coun-

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Confels, and produce new Things. The *Romans* then entered upon the War we have related. *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy* were soon in Hostility one against the other, for the Dominion of the Lower *Syria*. And the *Achaians* and *Philip* joined in a War against the *Lacedaemonians*, and those of *Ætolia* : The Reasons of which War we shall now deliver.

The *Ætolians* had been long weary of Peace, which obliged them to live honestly at their own Expence, who had been used heretofore to subsist on Spoil and Rapine. And whosoever hath led that Sort of Life, without prospect of other Profit than what ariseth from the Damage of another, after the manner of savage Beasts, are without any Sense of Friendship or Alliance ; reckon all their Enemies they can prey on ; and believe they have a right to any thing they can take away. Nevertheless, during the Life of *Antigonus*, the Fear the *Ætolians* were under of the *Lacedaemonians*, withheld them a while from Violence ; but he was no sooner dead, and *Philip*, then very young, come to the Crown, when, setting little by his Youth, they meditated by what Means or Pretexts they might make War on the *Peloponnesians* ; whom after their antient Custom they had a mind to plunder ; and believed they had a better right to make War on the *Achaians*, than any other People whatsoever. While they

they were thus consulting, there happen'd an accident that further'd their purpose, and which in short, they made use of to colour it. *Dorimachus* of *Trichonia* was Son of *Nicostratus*, who had acted so perfidious a part in the Assembly of the *Bæotians*. This *Dorimachus*, a turbulent young Man, and every way an *Ætolian*, (and after their manner) looking with a covetous Eye on other Mens Possessions, was employ'd by publick Authority to *Phigalia*, a Town of *Peloponnesus*, under a shew of taking care for the Security and Defence of the Town and Territory; but indeed his Commission was to make Observations from thence of the Transactions of *Peloponnesus*. Soon after his arrival there drew a numerous confluence thither from sundry Quarters, of loose piratical People, who resorted to him, then residing in that Town, which was a Confederate of the *Ætolians*, and situate on the Frontiers of the *Messenians*; and he, not being able to gratify these Robbers with the Prey they hunted after, (the Peace of *Antigonus* as yet subsisting among the *Greeks*) and, in short, having no better way to entertain them, permitted them to spoil the *Messenians* of their Cattel, who were also Friends and Confederates of the *Ætolians*. Who beginning on the Skirts of their Frontiers, driving away their Herds from thence, their Insolence grew at length to attempt such of their Habitations by Night, as lay

lay at any distance dispers'd about the Country. The *Messenians* were thereupon urg'd to dispatch their Deputies with Complaints of those Outrages to *Dorimachus*, and to demand reparation of the wrongs they had receiv'd; who did not only not incline to redress them, but seem'd rather to encourage those who bare Arms under him, and indeed to enrich himself by sharing a good proportion of all their Booty. But at length being press'd by new and frequent Importunities, his People continuing to act every day new Villanies, he told the Deputies he would come himself to *Messina*, and do right to those, who had complain'd of Injuries done them by the *Ætoli-ans*. But upon his coming, and the Application of those who had been thus molested, some he dismiss'd with Scoffs, others by adding further Injuries to those they had sustain'd, and terrifying others with hard and menacing Language. In short, it so happen'd, that while *Dorimachus* remain'd at *Messina*, this leud Rabble approaching near the Town in the Night, rifled a certain Country-House call'd *Chyron*; where killing all that made resistance, they bound the rest in Chains, and carry'd them away, together with the Cattle. Whereupon the *Messenians*, who had long lain under the resentment of this barbarous Treatment, and the little account *Dorimachus* seem'd to make of their Complaints, cited him to appear before their Assembly. *Sciron*

happened to be at this time their chief Magistrate, of whom for his Vertue his Fellow-Citizens had a singular Esteem. He was of opinion that *Dorimachus* should be held under Restraint till Reparation were made of the Damages they had suffer'd, and the Authors of the Slaughter that had been committed were delivered into their hands; which Counsel was thought but just, and had the ready Concurrence of the Assembly. *Dorimachus*, enraged at this Proceeding, angrily told them, That they shewed themselves but weak in such a Determination, if they could not distinguish that thereby they did not affront him, but the whole *Ætolian* People; that their Proceeding was unaccountable; and that it would not be long ere it was reveng'd. There was at this time a certain ridiculous Fellow in *Messina* call'd *Babyrtas*, who was every way so like *Dorimachus*, that had he been habited like him, the Resemblance both in Person, Countenance, and Voice was so great, that it would have been difficult to know them asunder. Hereof too *Dorimachus* had been inform'd: Who, on occasion, treating the *Messenians* after his insolent and menacing manner, *Sciron* a little transported; *How now, Babyrtas*, saith he, *do you think that you or your Threats can awe the Messenians?* To this Affront *Dorimachus* made no Reply, and not able now otherwise to avoid it, yeilded that the *Messenians* should pursue the Reparation
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of the Injuries that had been done them, and the Punishment of those who were found Guilty. But he was no sooner returned to his Country, when this Outrage they had done him so wrought upon his mind, that without any other known Motive, he prevailed with the *Ætolians* to make War on the *Messenians*.

Ariston was at that time Prætor of the *Ætolians*; whose Infirmities did not permit him to be at the Head of their Army: to him *Dorimachus* was allyed, as likewise one *Scopas*: To *Dorimachus* then he committed, in a manner, the entire Execution of his Authority; who nevertheless did not adventure in their Publick Assemblies to persuade them to this War with the *Messenians*, not being furnish'd with Matter sufficient to determine them to such a Resolution; and he knew moreover, that his Meaning would be too well understood; and that his Revenge and his Profit were the true Motives to such Counsels. So that forbearing to press it publicly, he laboured to win *Scopas* to assist him in his Designs against the *Messenians*. Telling him, there was nothing to be feared from the *Macedonians*, while the Authority was in such raw hands; *Philip* not having attained the Age of seventeen Years. He further added that the *Eleans* were the *Ætolians* fast Friends, and in Alliance with them, and concluded there could be no Hazard from thence, in
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breaking the Peace with the *Messenians*. But the Argument that weigh'd most with *Scopas*, as an *Ætolian*, was the great Profit and Plunder that would arise thereby; for that their Country was rich, naked, and unguarded, and might be easily surpriz'd: And in a word, he promis'd himself greater Advantage, by how much that in the *Cleomenic War*, that Territory alone had escap'd the Rapine and Violence of the Soldiers; and had felt none of those Evils of War by which the whole Counrry beside had been wasted. He further, and above all things, endeavour'd to persuade him, that nothing could fall out more agreeable to the *Ætolians*. And for what could happen with respect to the *Achaïans*; if they should chance to oppose their march, they could have no just subject of Complaint, while they did no other than barely repel Force by Force; and in case they attempted nothing, that then the execution of what they had projected would be so much the more feasible. That after all that had been said, there were not wanting fair Pretexts to take up Arms against the *Messenians*, who had long given occasion enough, by their entring into Security to the *Macedonians* and *Achaïans*, to take part with them in all their Enterprizes. Thus he prevail'd with *Scopas*, and his Friends, and wrought so far upon them, that without attending the Resolution of a general Convention of the *Ætolians*, or so much as im-

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parting their Purpose to the Magistrates in being, or making any one step according to antient Custom; they did at once, and of their own Heads, in effect, declare War against the *Messenians*, *Epirots*, *Achaians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Macedonians*.

At the same time they sent out their Fleet of Pilferers to infest the adjacent Seas; who meeting with a Ship of the Kings of *Macedon* off of *Cythera*, made Prize of her, and carrying her into Port, sold both the Ship and her Company. In short, they proceeded to plunder all along the Coast of *Epirus*, imploying for that service Vessels of *Cephalenia*, and made an attempt on *Thyrea*, a Town of *Acar-nania*. Afterwards dispatching Troops by secret ways into *Peloponnesus*, they surpriz'd and kept possession of a Fortrefs call'd *Clarium*, in the heart of the *Megalopolitan* Territory; which they made use of for a Retreat, and place of Refuge, and to lodge and secure their Plunder: But some time after they lost it again to *Timoxenus*, Prætor of the *Achai-ans*, assisted by *Taurion*; who had been left by *Antigonus* on his departure out of *Pelo-ponnesus*, to administer the Affairs of the Kings of *Macedon* in those Parts. For *Antigonus* was in possession of *Corinth*, which he took and held by the consent of the *Achaians*, during the Reign of *Cleomenes*; and had not restor'd *Orchomenus*, which he had taken by force, but on the contrary kept it still in his Hands,
and

and held it for his own. His Motive, it may be presumed, for so doing being not only to preserve by that means an easy Ingress into *Peloponesus*; but to be able by keeping a Garrison in *Orchomenus* to secure and awe the neighbouring Territory to better Obedience.

Dorimachus and *Scopas* then chusing their Time, when the Prætor *Timoxenus* was upon resigning up his Charge, and *Aratus* who was to succeed him, not yet invested in the Authority, call'd an Assembly of the *Ætolians* in *Rhium*, and having given their Orders to have the *Cephallesian* Vessels in a Readiness, they embarked their Troops, and transported them into *Peloponesus*, taking their March towards *Messina*, and passing through the Territories of *Patra*, *Phara*, and *Tritea*, they made shew to the *Achaians* of having no Design to molest them in their Passage. Howbeit the covetous Soldiers withheld not their Hands, but plunder'd and spoil'd the Country every where as they went till they came to *Phigalea*. This Town they made their Place of Arms, and the Seat of the War, and from hence made their Inroads on the Lands of the *Messenians*, without any Regard to the Right of Nations, and the antient Friendship and Alliance that had been made and continued between them; but led by their Avarice against all Rules of Honour or Equity, robb'd and spoil'd the Country with Impunity, the
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Messenians not finding themselves of Strength sufficient to adventure out against them.

The *Achaïans*, in the mean time, according to custom, assembled at *Ægium*, where the *Patreans* and *Phareans* preferred their Complaints of the Damages that had been done them by the *Ætolians* in their March through their Country. The *Messenians* likewise complained of their Outrages and perfidious Dealing, and send their Deputies to pray speedy Succours. After the Assembly had deliberated on these Matters, it was concluded, That the Resentment of those of *Patrae* and *Pharæ* was just, and ought to be prosecuted; and that the Case of the *Messenians* was to be commiserated: And it was especially agreed, That the State in general had been affronted by this insolent Proceeding of the *Ætolians*, who had presumed in hostile manner to enter upon *Achaia*, not only without their Permission, but against the Treaty of Peace. Whereupon, justly provoked by these Infractions, they resolved to send Succours to the *Messenians*; and that as soon as the Prætor should have put them in Arms, they would then proceed further to execute what should be thought expedient by the Assembly. *Timoxenus*, who was yet in the Prætorship, was not very well pleased with the Expedition, nor consequently with the Decree of the Assembly; for his Authority being not yet expired, he had no mind to the Command, as having
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but a doubtful Opinion of the *Achaian* Militia, which had been long unexercis'd in Arms. For after the expulsion of *Cleomenes*, the *Peloponnesians*, weary of former Wars, and believing the present peaceable posture of their Affairs was likely to endure, had totally relinquish'd the Trade of Warfare, and neglected the use of Arms. But *Aratus*, provok'd at the Indignities they had suffer'd by the audacious *Ætolians*, pursu'd the matter with another Spirit; nor was this the first occasion he had conceiv'd of aversion to that People. Wherefore he lost no time in putting the *Achaians* under Arms, but determin'd to come speedily to a Battel with the *Ætolians*. In a word, five Days before he was to enter on his Charge, (*Timoxenus* delivering up the Seal) he dispatch'd his Orders to all the Towns and Cities, assigning them a Day when all their young Men, fit to carry Arms, should assemble at *Megalopolis*. And here we have thought it a Debt due to the Merit of *Aratus*, to say something of him in particular.

Aratus was endu'd with almost all the good Qualities, that could be wish'd, to compose a Man for great and publick Employments: He was able in the Art of Persuasion; conceiv'd rightly, and readily executed; and when it was prudent to be silent, he very well knew how to hold his peace. He had not his Equal in supporting with constancy the Discussions of his fellow Citizens; second to

none

none in composing them, and artful in acquiring Friends and Confederates. He was subtle to contrive and conceal his secret Practices, and none better at devising Stratagems, and laying Ambushes against an Enemy. And in a word, he compass'd the most difficult Enterprizes by Patience and Application: Whereof manifold Instances may be enumerated; namely and principally, his surprizing of *Sicyon* and *Mantinæa*; his expelling the *Ætoli-ans* out of *Pellene*; and his getting possession of *Acro-Corinth* by intelligence. And yet after all, it is as true, that at the Head of an Army in the Field he was quite another Man: for as he was too slow in his Resolutions, so he was too backward in Danger; and wanted assurance to look on any Attempt, that bore the least appearance of Terror; which were defects that gave occasion of great advantage to the Enemy, who spoil'd and pillag'd the whole Country of *Peloponnesus*; and coming once to know his unguarded part, they never fail'd of succeeding when they attack'd him there. So true it is that Nature hath not only diversify'd Men in their Bodies and Minds; but triumphs in dissimilitude of Mind in one and the same Man, who will be found not only capable and insufficient in things that are divers, but in the self-same things; we shall see him Wise and Weak, Brave and a Coward by fits. Nor is there any thing new in what we remark on this Subject, or remote from

from common Observation and Experience, if we but consider with Attention. Some Men in heat of the Chace will boldly attack a wild Beast, and do as bravely in single Combats, yet cannot endure the Dangers of a Battle, and are not to be trusted in any Solemn Occasion in the Field. Thus the *Thessalian* Horse are not to be broken or resisted, when form'd into a Body in a Line of Battle ; but singly and man to man they are but a slight People. The contrary whereof is found of the *Ætolians*. The *Candiots* are wonderful in their way, by Sea and Land ; their Dexterity in Ambushes, Piracies, Surprizes, Attempts by Night, and beating up of Quarters ; and, in short, in every thing that requires Subtilty and Address, wherein they are superiour to all others : But in a pitched Field they are hardly to be brought to look an Enemy in the face. While it is found quite otherwise with the *Achaïans* and *Macedonians*.

We have taken occasion of this Digression, to the end the Credit of our History may undergo no Blemish with the Reader, when he shall chance to find the Characters of the same Men so inconsistent with themselves, and see them acting different Parts on the same Subject. After the *Achaïans*, pursuant to the Decree, had assembled all their able Men for the Service of the War ; the *Messenians* repeated their Supplications by their Deputies, that they might not be abandoned to the Mercy
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of the Enemy, and declar'd their willingness to be admitted into the League ; but the *Achaian* Ministers demurr'd to the receiving them into the Confederacy, without the Concurrence first obtain'd of King *Philip*, and the 'rest of the Allies. For the general Treaty that was made by the procurement of *Antigonus*, during the Reign of *Cleomenes*, between the *Achaians*, *Epirots*, *Phocians*, and *Macedonians*, *Bæotians*, *Arcadians*, and *Thessalians* ; had been continu'd yet without infraction. Nevertheless the *Messenians* had leave to hope, that as soon as their Troops were form'd, a supply of Succours should be given them ; on condition they sent the Sons of their Principal Citizens to be kept as Hostages at *Lacedæmon*, whereby to give Security to the Allies, that they should not come to any Accord with the *Ætolians* without their Concurrence. The *Lacedæmonians* were at this time with an Army on the Frontiers of the *Megalopolitans*, pursuant to the Conditions of the Treaty, but in effect more to observe from thence the Event of these Agitations, than to act the part of honest Allies. And now the Affairs of the *Messenians* being concluded, *Aratus* sent to the *Ætolians* to let them know what had been determin'd ; to require them to depart out of the Territory of *Messenia*, and not to march into *Achaia* on peril of being treated as Enemies. When *Scopas* and *Dorimachus* had receiv'd this Resolution of the *Achaians*,

and understood they were now in Arms, and drawn together at the place of Rendezvous; they concluded together, that it was their best course to yield to their Demands, and thereupon dispatch'd Messengers to *Cyllene*, and to *Ariston* the *Ætolian* Prætor, desiring them to take up all the Merchant Vessels they could procure in those parts, and send them with expedition to the Island of *Phlias*, where they were to attend further Orders. In the mean time the *Ætolian* Army (two days after) took their march with their Plunder, taking their way towards the *Eleans*. For with that People they had preserv'd a fast Friendship, thereby to keep their Passage open to invade and spoil the *Peloponnesians*. *Aratus* confiding too easily on the *Ætolians*, so quickly executing what they seem'd to promise, dismiss'd the *Achaïans* and *Lacedæmonians*, and march'd himself towards *Patræa* with only three Thousand Foot and three Hundred Horse; to whom were joyn'd the Troops of *Taurion*. *Dorimachus* and *Scopas* receiving intelligence in the mean time that *Aratus* was in their Neighbourhood with an Army, and fearing lest they should be attack'd at their Embarking, and being well enough dispos'd to have the War continue; dispatch'd away their Booty to the Fleet under a good Guard, with Orders to make Sail to *Rhium* with their Cargo, and there to attend, as if it had been their purpose to Embark there.

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When they themselves, after they had a while march'd after their Plunder, the better to secure it ; and observing every where as they went the disposition of the Country, turn'd off and march'd towards *Olympia*. As soon as they had the news of *Aratus* and *Taurion's* being in the Territory of *Clitoria*, with the Troops we mention'd, they then concluded they should not be able to Embark at *Rhium* without Danger or a Battel : And therefore were of Opinion, that their best course was to endeavour to come to Action as soon as they could, before the Enemy should be re-inforc'd with more Troops ; and while they continu'd secure, and without any apprehension of a surprize. For they reckon'd that if they could be able to put them into the least disorder, they should then compass their Retreat without difficulty, with the Spoils and Plunder they had taken ; and before the States of *Ætolia* could come to the Assembly ; or in case the Enemy, terrify'd with the suddenness of the Attempt, should refuse Battel, they should then likewise not fail of gaining their Passage according to their own desire. With these Thoughts they held on their march till they arriv'd near *Metbydrium*, in the Territory of *Megalopolis*, where they incamp'd.

And now albeit the *Achaian* Generals were well aware of the Enemies approach ; yet they conducted their Affairs with so little forecast, that they may be said to have neglected

no one thing that might avail to perfect the Character of Folly and Insufficiency. For, in short, as soon as they had quitted the Frontiers of the *Clitorians*, they came and incamp'd near *Caphya*; and when the Enemy on their moving from *Metbydrium*, took their March by *Orchomenus*, the *Achaians* drew out and appear'd in Battel in the Fields of *Caphya*; being defended on one side by the River that runs through that Country. After the *Ætolians* had well consider'd the Ground; that the Enemy was advantageously posted; that they had cut many Trenches along the Bank of the River, whereby it was hardly any where passable; and after they had farther remark'd a strong desire in them to come to Blows; they upon deliberate Thoughts concluded it their safest course to avoid a Battel; contrary to their first Determination; continuing therefore in good Order, they march'd on, taking their way towards *Oligyrtus*, keeping the high Grounds: And thought they should gain a great Point at that time, if they could compass their Passage without molestation, or being oblig'd to give the Enemy Battel. After *Aratus* and *Taurion* had staid till they saw the Van of the *Ætolian* Army to have now gain'd the Hills; and the Horse in the Plains bringing up and sustaining the Rear; and who now drew near an Eminence call'd *Propus*: They sent out their Horse after them, to whom they joyn'd their
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light-arm'd Troops under the leading of *Episthratus the Acarnanian*; these had order to fall on their Rear-guard to make some proof of the mettle of the Enemy. Now, if it were reasonable to come to a Battel, they could not have made a worse choice than to attack the Enemy in the Rear, for their Gross had already pass'd the Plains; but to have done as they ought, would have been to have engag'd their Van, as soon as they had enter'd on the Champaign Ground. In which case they had had the benefit of fighting with the Advantage, both in the nature of their Arms, and the strength of their Order, wherein in plain Ground they were in both superior to the Enemy, who could not possibly have then fought without great odds against them. But while they committed this over-sight, and attack'd not the *Ætolians* till they had gain'd the Advantage of Ground, it was no wonder that the Success fell out accordingly. For the light-arm'd Troops no sooner came to the Charge, when the *Ætolian* Horse had gain'd the Mountain, firm and in good order, keeping a good round march, whereby to come up and joyn their Foot.

Aratus, who could not very well discover how the Affair went, and not rightly judging of the Danger to which he was going to expose himself; imagining the Enemies hasty Motion to be no other than Flight, detach'd his *Curiaffiers* from the Wings, and command-

ed them to advance to the Charge, to reinforce and sustain the light-arm'd Soldiers. In the mean time drawing up the rest of his Troops into one Battalion, he march'd himself at the Head of them, and hastily advanc'd towards the Enemy ; doing every thing with precipitation. But the *Ætolian* Horse had no sooner pass'd the Plain, and joyn'd the Foot who had the Rear-guard, and had now gain'd the Mountain ; when they immediately made a halt, and ordering their Foot on the Flanks, encourag'd one another to fear nothing : And now facing about, the Shouts they made caus'd those who were at a distance to return and hasten to their assistance ; so that their number increasing, in confidence of their superiour Strength, and the benefit of charging from higher Ground, they boldly attack'd the Enemies Horse, and their light-arm'd Troops, and after a long and obstinate Dispute the *Achaïans* were worsted : Who flying, so terrify'd those who were coming in no very good order to their Relief, that they likewise retreated as fast as they came ; partly out of ignorance of the state of the Battel, partly by meeting those of their Party, who were flying for Safety from the Enemy. This was the reason why it came to pass, that this Party only of five Hundred of their Men was beaten ; and above two Thousand betook themselves to flight without ingaging. And now the *Ætolians*, who took Counsel of the
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present posture of the Field, follow'd them hard in the Rear with great Shouts and Acclamations. In short, while the *Achaian* Troops were retreating back to the Gross, as they thought of the Army, which they hop'd would afford them a safe reception; their Retreat was Soldier-like, in good and safe order; but as soon as they perceiv'd them to have quitted the advantageous Post they had taken; that their Order was broken and confus'd; marching in a Defileé, then they fell into Confusion likewise, and scattering and dispersing themselves here and there, some got into neighbouring Towns, others meeting a Battalion of their own Troops, that advanc'd to their Succour, so terrify'd each other, tho' no Enemy were near, that they both broke and dispers'd. Of those that shifted for themselves, as we observ'd, some got into the Towns round about, and a good Party escap'd to *Orchomenus* and *Caphya*, which were not far off. For had they not had those safe Retreats at hand, they had been intirely ruin'd.

Thus have we related the Story of this Battel, which was fought near *Caphya*.

As soon as the *Megalopolitans* came to understand that the *Ætolians* were encamp'd in the Territory of *Methydrium*, they drew their whole Forces together, and march'd to the Assistance of the *Achaians*; but they arriv'd not till the Day after the Battel, and their coming prov'd of no other use, than to take

care of burying the dead Bodies of those with whom they expected to have joyn'd, and hop'd to have reliev'd. So that digging a great Ditch in the Territory of the *Caphyans*, they there bury'd the dead, performing the Obsequies of those unfortunate Men with great Honour and Solemnity. And now the *Ætolians* having obtain'd a Victory so contrary to their Hopes, by the single service of their Horse, and light-arm'd Soldiers, took their march thereupon, without fear or danger, quite cross the Country of *Peloponnesus*. And after making an attempt on *Pellene*, and harassing the Territory of *Sicyon*, they took their way by the *Isthmus*. These matters then which we have now related were the cause of the Confederate War; and the Decree that was conceiv'd thereupon, and confirm'd in a general Assembly of the Allies at *Corinth*; (where King *Philip*, who procur'd the same, and was present) was the beginning of the said War.

In the mean time the *Achaians* soon after this Defeat call an Assembly; where *Aratus* was severely prosecuted with Complaints on all hands: As having been manifestly the occasion of the loss and dishonour they had sustain'd. And by how much his Enemies press'd him with Accusations, and with strong Reasons laid open his mismanagement; by so much did the Hatred and Indignation of the People increase against him. First, there was
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no dispute but that *Aratus* had greatly err'd ; in having, as one may say, usurp'd the Magistracy, by taking it upon him before he was regularly elected into his Charge : And he could not deny, but that what he had enterpriz'd thereupon had very ill succeeded. Furthermore they blam'd him, for that seeing the *Ætolians* yet in the heart of *Peloponnesus*, he had been prevail'd with to dismiss the *Achaian* Troops, notwithstanding he had been before well assur'd that *Scopas* and *Dorimachus* were firmly determin'd to embroil their Affairs ; and to do all they could to ingage them in a War. The third Article against him was, His adventuring to ingage with so few Troops, when he might with ease have made a good Retreat to the neighbouring Towns, where he might at leisure have reinforc'd his Army ; and then given the Enemy Battel, if he had seen cause. The last and heaviest Charge against him was, That after he had resolv'd to give the Enemy Battel, he did not make one Soldier-like step in the whole Conduct of the Action. For it had been in his choice to have fought on plain Ground, which would have been much to his advantage ; for there the heavy-arm'd Troops could have ingag'd, from whose service he could hardly have fail'd of Success : While on the contrary he chose to fight on the skirts of the Hills, where his light-arm'd Soldiers only were brought to fight, than which nothing could have been
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contriv'd more to the advantage of the Enemy. But as soon as *Aratus* appear'd in the Assembly, and had first spoken of the many Services he had render'd the Commonwealth, he then reply'd to the Reproaches that had been utter'd against him. And made it appear that the loss they had sustain'd was not through his Default ; nevertheless he besought their Pardon ; if he had been found wanting in any thing in that occasion ; and pray'd they would not censure him with more Rigour than Humanity. In short, he so wrought with the People, that they grew inrag'd against those who had so violently prosecuted him, and it was long e'er they forgave them ; and in the mean time renewing their good Opinion of *Aratus*, they gave themselves intirely up to his Counsel and Conduct, in all their future Enterprizes. These things came to pass, in the hundred and forty ninth Olympiad : While what we have now further to deliver, happen'd during that which follow'd.

The Assembly then proceeded to decree, That Ambassadors should be dispatch'd to the *Epirots*, *Bæotians*, *Acaruanians*, and to King *Philip* ; to remonstrate to them that the *Ætolians* having now the second time violated the general Treaty, had in Hostile manner invaded *Achaia* ; and further to demand Succours according to the Covenants of the Treaty, and to move that the *Messenians* might be

be taken into the Confederacy. Moreover, they decreed, That their Prætor should raise an Army of five Thousand Foot, and five Hundred Horse; that he should march to the Relief of the *Messenians*, in case the *Ætolians* should return to Invade them: And in conclusion, came to a determination with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Messenians*, about the proportion of Horse and Foot which they were to furnish respectively toward the Forces that were to be rais'd for the general Service of the War. These things being concluded, the *Achaïans* (who could not forget their late disgrace) would not abandon the *Messenians*, nor the Enterprize they had projected. The Ambassadors therefore acquitted themselves of their Commission. The Prætor levied Troops among the *Achaïans*, pursuant to the Decree of the States, and concluded with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Messenians*, that they should each of them bring into the Field two Thousand five Hundred Foot, and two Hundred and Fifty Horse; to the end they might have an Army on foot to answer any present occasion, consisting of ten Thousand Foot and a Thousand Horse.

The *Ætolians* in the mean time were not wanting to themselves, who (the day of their assembly now approaching) resolv'd to do their best to deal with the Confederates of the *Achaïans*; and not only to endeavour a Peace with the *Lacedæmonians* and the Allies, but
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even with the *Achaïans* themselves, on condition they would exclude the *Messenians*; and came to a Resolution, That in case they would not abandon them, that then War should be declar'd against them; than which nothing could be a more manifest Injustice. For being themselves in League with the *Achaïans* and *Messenians*, they denounc'd War against those in case they held Friendship with the others; and on the contrary would enter into Friendship with the *Achaïans*, provided they would become Enemies to the *Messenians*. But they made no difficulty to act such irregular Parts as these.

The *Epirots* and King *Philip*, having understood the case of the *Messenians*, yielded to their being receiv'd into the Confederacy. And while they condemn'd the Proceedings of the *Ætolians*, they were not surpriz'd at the Relation; it being nothing new or contrary to the practice of that People. They concluded however to give no further Proofs of their Resentment, but resolv'd to continue at Peace with them. So much easier it is to pass by the Injuries done by those who have by a custom of transgressing taught us to forgive, than of such as take us by surprize, and from whom we could not have expected foul play.

Thus the *Ætolians*, who were held for the common Outlaws and Robbers of *Greece*, and whose manner it was to strike without warning,

ing, and make War without any previous or publick declaration, disdain'd to make any Apology for their Doings to those who had charg'd them with their injurious Dealing: On the contrary, they treated their Accusers with mockery and contempt. As to the *Lacedæmonians*, who tho' they had been but lately rescu'd from the Tyranny of *Cleomenes*, by the Favour of *Antigonus*, and the Affection of the *Achaians*, nevertheless forgetting what they ow'd for that good Office, and the Assurances they had given to King *Philip* and the *Macedonians* to enter into no Engagements prejudicial to the Interests of the *Achaians*; they secretly, notwithstanding sent their Ambassadors to the *Ætolians*, and became their Confederates.

And now when the *Achaians* had form'd an Army of their ablest Men, and the *Lacedæmonians* and *Messenians* had promis'd to bring in their *quota* of Succours, behold a Naval Army arrives, consisting of Ninety Sail of Ships from *Illyria*, under the Command of *Scerdilaidas* and *Demetrius* of *Pharus*; who passing by the Island, which was the Bounds prescrib'd by the Treaty with the *Romans*, made their first descent near *Pylus*, which they attack'd, and after many fruitless Attempts were repuls'd. Afterwards *Demetrius* with a Fleet of fourscore Sail proceeded as far as the *Cyclades*, where he got Money from some, and plunder'd others of those Islands.

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As to *Scerdilaidas*, he made Sail directly for the Coast of *Illyria*, and came to *Naupactus* with a Fleet of forty Ships, favour'd and encourag'd by *Amina* King of the *Athamenes*, with whom he was in Alliance. And afterwards by the procurement of *Agefilaus* entering into Conditions touching the distribution of the Plunder, he ingag'd to march against the *Achaians*. As soon as *Agefilaus*, *Dorimachus* and *Scopas* had finish'd this Treaty with *Scerdilaidas*, and had given him the Town of *Cynætha* for Caution, they march'd with the *Illyrians* into *Achaia*, the *Ætolians* being at the Head of an Army as good as they could possibly raise.

Ariston Prætor of the *Ætolians*, during these Agitations, remain'd at home, not only without acting in any thing, but seeming ignorant of all that was done, profess'd to be in Amity with the *Achaians*; wherein he shew'd himself a weak Man, and a slight Minister. For which way could he hope to conceal by words, what was made by deeds so publick and notorious? But in short, he was held by all the World for one of little worth. *Dorimachus*, taking his march through the Territory of the *Achaians*, came to *Cynætha*. The Inhabitants of this Town, who are of *Arcadian* Extraction, had been long vex'd with civil Dissentions; and had express'd their hatred one to another by Murders, Banishments, and all kinds of Violence: And had
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come to a Resolution of making a Division once again of their Lands; and, in short, the Faction that favour'd the *Achaians* being at that time uppermost, the Power was in their hands; and the Governour himself was an *Achaian*. This being the Posture of Affairs in that Town, those who were under sentence of Banishment, had a little before the arrival of the *Ætolian* Army, labour'd about a Reconciliation, and besought the Government, that they might be restor'd to their Country. Upon which Overtures the Citizens were prevail'd with to yield to their admittance; but to the end they might not transact any thing without the concurrence of the *Achaians*, they first dispatch'd their Deputies to them, to obtain their Approbation. The *Achaians* readily accorded to the request of the banish'd Persons, conceiving they should thereby ingratiate themselves and gain the good will of both Parties; of those in whose Hands the Magistracy was then lodg'd, for their greatest hopes was in the *Achaians*; and of the others who were restor'd to their Country, as owing the benefit to their Favour. So that these Differences being compos'd, the *Cynæthians* dismiss'd their Garison and their Governour, and being now reconcil'd to their Exiles, who were to the number of about three Hundred, receiv'd them to their Friendship; who gave them all the evidences of Fidelity and fair Dealing, that could possibly be interchang'd
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between People firmly dispos'd to love and oblige one another. But without the least appearance of any new Motive of Dissention, they were no sooner receiv'd into the Town, when they conspir'd together to betray their Country, and destroy those who but just before, had been the Authors of so great a Benefit. So that it may be said, That while they were protesting Fidelity by the Victims on the Altar, they were meditating the most horrible Crime, that could be conceiv'd against God or Man. For they had scarce made an end of swearing Fidelity on their being receiv'd into the Town, when they call'd in the *Ætolians*, and deliver'd it into their Hands, proud of being the Authors of their Countries ruine, that had given them Being, and of enslaving those who had redeem'd them.

Behold the manner how this piece of Treachery was contriv'd. Some of the Exiles had been *Polymarchs* (that is) they had been in command in the Army : Which sort of Magistrates (it seems) had a right to take charge of the Gates of the Town ; had the custody of the Keys, and by Night the Command of the Guard. Now the *Ætolians*, who were not far off, having Ladders and all proper Provision with them, lay conceal'd waiting the occasion, when the *Polymarchs*, who had been banish'd (after having dispatch'd their Companions of the Guard, who were not
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partakers of the Villany) presently threw open the Gates. Whereupon one Party of the *Ætolians* enter'd that way, and another scal'd the Walls. In the mean time, the Inhabitants, terrify'd at an attempt so surprizing, were confounded in their Judgments what to do; or which way first to go; for, in short, they no sooner advanc'd against those who had enter'd by the Gate, when they were alarm'd by the others who were scaling their Walls; but those who enter'd by the Gate being the greater number, found them more than work enough. So that in the end the *Ætolians* became Masters of the Place, and amidst the many Crimes they committed, perform'd this one act of Justice, namely, to cut those in pieces first, who had betray'd the Town into their Hands; making Booty of their Goods. Howbeit the rest afterwards far'd no better, their Houses being expos'd to Plunder, and many of the Inhabitants put to Torment, on suspicion they might have conceal'd their Goods of greatest value. After this severe treatment of the *Cynæthians*, they plac'd a Garrison in the Town, and march'd with their Army towards *Lussi*, when arriving near a Temple of *Diana*, between *Clytoria* and *Cynætha*, a place of great Devotion, and a Sanctuary among the *Greeks*, they were about to rob the Goddess of the sacred Cattel, and all that was near the Temple. But to prevent this Violence, and withhold them

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from greater Crimes, the *Lusſiatæ* freely beſtow'd part of what appertain'd to the Goddeſs upon them. Whereupon they diſlodg'd from thence, and went and encamp'd before *Clytoria*.

In the mean time, *Aratus*, Prætor of the *Achaïans*, having ſent to demand Aids of King *Philip*, proceeded to make extraordinary Levies of Men, and call'd on the *Lacedæmonians* and *Meſſenians* for the Succours they were oblig'd to contribute, purſuant to the Treaty. The *Ætolians* likewiſe preſs'd the *Clytorians* to renounce their Alliance with the *Achaïans*, and take part with them. Which being refus'd, they endeavour'd to reduce them by force, ſcaling the Walls of the Town. But being reſolutely oppos'd by the Inhabitants, they were compell'd to retire. From thence they return'd to *Cynætha*, pillaging the Country all about, and carrying away the ſacred Cattel of the Goddeſs. Then they propos'd to put the Town into the hands of the *Eleans*; which not being accepted, they reſolv'd to keep it for themſelves, putting in *Euripides* for their Governour. But ſhortly after being alarm'd, at the news of the approach of the *Macedonians*, they burnt the Town, and retir'd; taking their march towards *Rhium*, with purpoſe to paſs that way into *Ætolia*.

In the mean time, *Taurion* having notice of the Success of the *Ætolians*, and of what they had done at *Cynætha*, and hearing that *Demetrius* of *Pharus* was arriv'd from the *Cyclades* to *Cenchrea*, he importun'd him to come to the Assistance of the *Achaïans*; to draw his Vessels over the *Isthmus*, and fall on the *Ætolians* in their passage. *Demetrius*, who had fled from the *Rhodians*, that were in pursuit of him, and had brought with him no less Shame than Plunder from the *Cyclades*, readily yielded to the Demand; especially in regard *Taurion* was to be at the expence of transporting over the Vessels. But that Work was no sooner over, when they understood that the *Ætolians* had gain'd their Passage two Days before; whereupon *Demetrius*, contenting himself to make Inroads on them here and there, near the Sea-coast, retir'd to the Port of *Corinth*. In conclusion, the *Lacedæmonians*, industriously and with evil intent, deferr'd sending those Aids, to which by the accord they were oblig'd; covering their malicious Purpose, however, with dispatching an inconsiderable Supply of Horse and Foot. While the *Achaïan* Troops rendezvous'd about *Arazus*, who in short govern'd his Affairs in such sort in that occasion, as render'd him rather a cautious and wise Citizen, than an able General of an Army. For indeed the reflection on his late Disasters had so warn'd him, that he remain'd long undetermin'd how to proceed,

ceed, till at length *Dorimachus* and *Scopas*, having leisure given them to act the Part for which they came, return'd home without molestation: While *Aratus* in the mean time well knew, they must of necessity take their March by such Ways and Passes, so difficult and dangerous, that as one may say, they might have been beaten by the Sound only of a Trumpet. As for the *Cynæthians*, tho' their usage from the *Ætolians* was barbarous enough, yet so it was that all the World look'd on their Misfortunes as a Punishment justly inflicted.

But forasmuch as the *Arcadians* are in some Reputation for Vertue among the *Greeks*, not only for their laudable Manners, and the Humanity wherewith Strangers and all People are receiv'd among them; but chiefly for their Devotion to the Gods; it will not therefore be amiss, that we give some account of the Brutality of the *Cynæthians*, and how it came to pass that being of *Arcadian* Extraction, they should have so degenerated, as to surpass in all sorts of Crimes and Barbarities the whole *Greek* Nation beside. For my own part, I am apt to conclude, that this their Depravity sprang from their being the first and almost only People among the *Arcadians* that apostatiz'd, and renounc'd the wholesom and wise Institutions of their Forefathers; and the common and natural Ties of Humanity, so strictly observ'd by all the *Arcadians* beside. Mu-
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sick is esteem'd useful every-where, but to the *Arcadians* it is necessary; I mean the true Mystery and Science of Musick. And no Credit is to be given to a Saying of *Ephorus*, so unworthy of the Author, who in the beginning of his Writings tells us, *That Musick was invented to deceive and abuse us.* Nor is there any ground to conclude that the *Cretans* and *Lacedæmonians* did, without Reason, introduce the Use of the Flute and Singing, instead of the Trumpet in War: Nor that the original *Arcadians* did not, on solid Grounds, allot the Preference to Musick, as to give it a Part in the Establishment of their State; and whatsoever Austerities they may otherwise profess, they make it an indispensable Part of the Education of their Children, and enjoin the Study of Musick to their Young Men till they arrive at the Age of Thirty Years, And most certain it is, that there is hardly any People beside the *Arcadians*, who in their private Families accustom their Children from their tenderest Age, (and which is grown into a Law) to sing Hymns to their Heroes and their Gods; every one according to the Style and Mode of his Country. Then after their Children have been instructed in the Musick of *Philoxenus* and *Timotheus*, they are brought yearly to the Theatre, where they celebrate the Feast of *Bacchus* with Songs and Dances; as likewise the Games, call'd the *Games of Childhood*, as their Young Men perform those

call'd the *Games of Youth*. So that all their Lifelong, they divert not themselves so much in their Entertainments, and Conversation, in the Exercise of their Wit, as their Voices, singing one to another by turns. And in case any one should profess himself ignorant of other Arts and Sciences, he may do it without reproach; but none may presume to want Knowledge in Musick, because the Law of the Land makes it necessary; nor dare they own their Insufficiency therein, it being held infamous among that People. They are likewise at the Charge of the Publick instructed in martial Dances, and to Fight and Exercise their Arms, according to the Cadence of Musick, and are seen every Year on the Publick Theatre, to shew the People their Improvement in that Exercise.

In short, we may safely conclude, That their Ancestors did not establish this Custom amongst them, so much for Luxury and Delight, as from a wise Consideration of the Life they lead, and the Climate they inhabit; being a People addicted to Labour, and, in a word, leading a toilsome and industrious Life: Which seems to proceed from the Inclemency of the Air, for the most part cold and melancholy. For it is an establish'd Law in Nature, that we should partake of the Soil that breeds us. Nor can there be a better Reason render'd for the Unlikeness of Nations, as the difference of the Air they breathe, and the situa-
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tion of the Countries they inhabit. And hence it comes to pass, that the distance of Climates begets that dissimilitude among us, both in Manners, Make, Humour, and Complexion. These gladsome Remedies then we have related, were wisely instituted to cure and calm by Art the Rigours and Defects of Nature. Furthermore, they had a Custom of mixing Men and Women indifferently in their Sacrifices and Publick Assemblies, wherein they frequently met. They likewise instituted Quires, where the Youth of both Sexes convers'd, and sung and danc'd together; and in a word, they left nothing unattempted, that might prevail to soften and sweeten those Austerities of Nature to which the Climate had condemn'd them. And the *Cynæthians*, who by reason of their situation, had of all others the greatest reason to preserve these Customs among them (they being the most Northern part of all *Arcadia*) no sooner fell to neglect these wholesom Institutions, when they fell into Dissentions and civil Discords; and grew at length into such depravity of Manners, that their Crimes, in number and measure, surpass'd all the Nations of the *Greeks* beside.

Great and manifest Testimonies were given, of the Corruption of this People's Manners, from the Aversion the *Arcadians* in general had conceiv'd against them, who, when they dispatch'd their Ambassadors to the *Lacedæmonians*, after their Defeat, they hardly came

into any Town of *Arcadia*, where the Inhabitants did not warn them out again by Sound of Trumpet, and the Voice of their Publick Crier. And the People of *Mantineæ* proceeded yet farther ; for they had no sooner caus'd the *Cynæthian* Ambassadors to depart, when they cleans'd themselves as from Infection, and slew Victims about their Town and Country, and offer'd Sacrifices of Purgation.

We have taken occasion to enlarge on this Subject, to justify the *Arcadian* Customs and Manners ; and to the end lest the *Arcadians* themselves, by a wrong Judgment and Belief, that Musick became thus familiar among them, barely for Luxury and the entertainment of idle Minds, should at length fall into Contempt of that part of their own Laws and Institutions. Nor are the *Cynæthians* themselves without a share of our Commiseration in this Digression ; who, if by the Favour of Heaven, they should one Day see an end of their Affliction, may be drawn to return to the ancient Manners of their Country ; and embrace and principally cultivate this Science among them, whereby to soften and bend their Minds with those Charms, which have power to tame wild Beasts themselves ; than which, no way seems more likely to polish them from the Rust of Barbarity. But having spoken enough of *Cynætha*, 'tis time now to return to our Business.

The *Ætolians* having acted these Violences in *Peloponnesus*, as hath been related, return'd home without Impediment. In the interim *Philip* arrives at *Corinth* to succour the *Achaians*; but coming too late the occasion was lost; he therefore sent his Dispatches to the several Confederates, praying them speedily to send their respective Deputies to him there, that they might deliberate together about their general Affairs. While he himself led his Troops towards *Tegæa*, on a rumour that the *Lacedæmonians* were fallen into civil Broils.

The *Lacedæmonians*, who had been us'd to Kingly Government, and were but newly by the power of *Antigonus* set at liberty, fell into Factions; and Seditions growing among them, they were labouring to establish Equality in their State. In these Disputes there were two of their *Ephori*, of whom it could not be discover'd to which Party they were inclin'd, while the other three openly manifested their being of the *Ætolian* Faction: Considering King *Philip* as not yet of Age ripe enough to Rule the Affairs of *Peloponnesus*. But when, contrary to their Opinion, and more speedily than they expected, the *Ætolians* were retir'd; and *Philip* arriv'd out of *Macedon* sooner than was believ'd; the three *Ephori* began to fall into suspicion of *Adimantus*, one of the other two; for they well knew he was privy to their Designs,

signs, and testify'd his disapproval of their Counsels ; wherefore they apprehended lest he when *Philip* should approach nearer might reveal to him all that had pass'd. Wherefore imparting their purpose to certain young Men of their Party, they proclaim'd by sound of Trumpet, that all who were of Age to go to War, should assemble with their Arms at a certain place of Rendezvous near the Temple of *Minerva Chalciaëce*, to make head against the *Macedonians*, who were approaching their Borders. Hereupon the People assembled, terrify'd at this surprizing News ; but *Adimantus* disapproving the proceeding, hast'ned to those who were so drawn together, and spake to them after this manner: *It would be wholsome Counsel to conceive such Edicts, and make such Proclamations, upon notice that the Ætolians our Enemies were on our Borders ; but not at this time, when the Macedonians our Friends, from whose Bounty we have receiv'd so many good Offices, are approaching us ; having their King in Person with them.* He had no sooner ended these words, when those who were of Intelligence with the other *Ephori* fell upon him, stabbing him to death with their Poinyards, and together with him *Sthenelaus, Alcamenes, Thyestes, Bionidias*, and many other Principal Citizens. *Polyphontes* and some others, who foresaw the Danger, escap'd to King *Philip*. But the *Ephori*, becoming by this Action formidable
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in *Sparta*, sent forthwith to the King, laying the cause of what had happen'd to the charge of those who had been slain ; praying him to deferr his coming to *Sparta*, till their Tumults should be over, and their Affairs in a more quiet posture: In the mean time they give him solemn assurance of fair Dealing, and that they would perform the Capitulations punctually.

Their Ambassadors found the King near the Mountain of *Parthenia*, where they perform'd their Commission. After he had given them Audience, he told them they should return back to *Sparta*, and let the *Ephori* understand, that he intended to proceed on his way to *Tegæa*, where he desired they would dispatch to him proper Persons with whom to confer touching the present posture of Affairs. So they commissioned ten of the Principal Citizens of *Lacedæmon* for that Negotiation, appointing *Onias* chief of the Embassy.

Upon their arrival at *Tegæa*, they were introduc'd to the King in Council, where they renew'd their Accusation against *Adimantus* ; making him the Author of all those Disorders, that had happen'd among them. And, in short, they made the King plausible Promises to act in every thing the part of faithful Confederates, and to proceed in such manner as to make it manifest, that they surpass in Zeal and Affection those whom he held for his faithfullest Friends. After this Discourse, and more to the like effect, the

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Ambassadors withdrew. Those who were present in the Council were divided in their Opinions; and being well assur'd that *Adimantus*, and those who had been assassinated were sacrific'd for their Fidelity to King *Philip*, and that the *Lacedæmonians* prevaricated, and were dispos'd to enter into Alliance with the *Ætolians*; counselled the King to make them an Example, and treat them as *Alexander* had done the *Thebans* upon his coming to the Crown; But others of the graver sort were for more moderate Counsels; remonstrating that such a Punishment was too great for their Fault; and that it would be enough to punish the Promoters and Heads of the Sedition, by removing them from the Magistracy, and placing the Authority in such Hands as were firm to the Interest of the King.

After they had all spoken their Minds, the King deliver'd his Opinion; if it were true that what he said in that occasion was his own: For, in truth, it is hardly probable, that a young Prince of seventeen Years of Age, could be able to determine with such Sagacity, in an Affair of so much moment. But as it is good manners in Historians, to attribute to the Princes themselves the Resolutions that are taken in their Cabinets; so the Readers of History ought to conclude, that such wholesome determinations flow rather from the riper Conceptions of their faithful Servants, and such as are admitted to the
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Prince's Privacy. And there is all the reason in the World to do *Aratus* the justice of believing him to be the Author of what the King deliver'd on that occasion.

Who said, That if the Confederates had any difference among themselves, what was fitting to be done in such case, was to admonish them by Word or Letter, and let them know that their Proceedings were observ'd : That whatsoever was done in violation of the general Alliance, ought to be punish'd by the joint Sentence of the Confederates : But that since it did not appear that the *Lacedæmonians* had been guilty of any Infraction of the Union ; but, on the contrary, had given the *Macedonians* such Assurances of their sincerity, as they did, there was no reason to deal severely with them. That, in a word, it would not be just in him to animadvert on them for light Offences, whom his Father had pardon'd while they were Enemies, and he a Conqueror. This Opinion then of the King prevailing, That it would be better to connive at what had happen'd, he dispatch'd *Petræus*, one of his favourite Servants, in company of *Onias*, to exhort the *Lacedæmonians* to continue firm to the Treaty, and to ratifie it by a new Oath, while himself march'd with his Army to *Corinth* ; having given the Confederates an admirable instance of his Prudence and Magnanimity, in this his behaviour towards the *Lacedæmonians*.

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The Ambassadors of the Confederates were already met at *Corinth*, where, upon the King's Arrival, they fell to deliberate with him about their common Affairs, and what resolution to take touching the *Ætolians*. The *Bæotians* accus'd them of having in time of Peace plunder'd and violated the Temple of *Minerva Itonia*: The *Phocians*, for attacking in Hostile manner the Towns of *Ambrysus* and *Daulius*: The *Epirots* charg'd them with making Inroads and Plund'ring their Country: The *Acarnanians*, for their attempt on *Thyreum*; and after it had been made evident to the Assembly, in what manner they had possess'd themselves of the Fortrefs of *Clarium*, in the Dominion of the *Megalopolitans*: That they had ruin'd the Country of *Pharus* and *Patræ* in their march, destroy'd *Cynætha* with Fire and Sword, prophan'd the Temple of *Diana* at *Lussi*, besieg'd *Clytoria*, made War by Sea at *Pylus*, and Landed in hostile manner on the Territory of *Megalopolis*. In short, when all these Outrages of the *Ætolians* had been prov'd, and canvass'd in the Assembly, they accorded unanimously to declare War against them. So after they had prefac'd their Decree, with enumerating the Causes and Provocations of the War; it was concluded, That all those who had been sufferers by the *Ætolians*, since the Death of *Demetrius*, Father of *Philip*, should be receiv'd into the Confederacy; and that if any
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by the violence of the Times had been aw'd into Obedience or Alliance with the *Ætolians*, and pay'd them Tribute, that they should be forthwith set at liberty, the security of their respective Governments committed to their own hands, and no Garrisons impos'd upon them; but that they should be permitted to return to their ancient Laws and Customs, free from any Tribute or Impositions whatsoever: That Aid should be given the *Amphilyons*, in order to their re-establishment in their Privileges, and the restitution of their Right to the administration of the Temple, which the *Ætolians* had violently wrested from them, to make themselves Masters of that sacred Place, and all the Revenues thereof. This Decree being ordain'd in the First Year of the Hundred and fortieth *Olympiad*, the War of the Allies thereupon ensu'd, which was begotten by the violent and general unjust proceedings of the *Ætolians*. And now Ambassadors were sent from the Assembly of the States, to all the Confederate Towns, to the end the Decree being every-where receiv'd and ratifi'd by the Suffrages of the People, they might jointly and separately in their distinct States, publish the War against the *Ætolians*; whom King *Philip* likewise advertis'd by his Letters, letting them understand, That if it were so, that they had just argument or motive whereby to indemnifie themselves, and could fairly wipe off the Impu-

putations that lay against them, that they would do well to apply themselves to the general Assembly, and endeavour to put a period to so solemn a Process by a Conference: That they did but make *Ostentation of their Weakness*, by thinking they might with impunity spoil and pillage, as they did everywhere, without any declar'd War, or apparent cause for such violence; and that those who underwent these Outrages would rest unreveng'd; or that it would be believ'd the Sufferers would be reckon'd the Aggressors, and Authors of the War, while they only apply'd themselves to such Remedies as their case made necessary.

The *Ætolians*, on the receipt of these Intimations from King *Philip*, were at first persuaded he would not appear, and therefore prefix'd a Day for their assembling at *Rhium*; afterwards, when they heard of his arrival, they sent to let him know, that they had not Power to determine any thing in their Publick Affairs, till the Convention of the General States of the *Ætolians*. In the meanwhile, the *Achaïans* assembling at the usual time, ratify'd the Decree by a general Vote of the Assembly, and afterwards declar'd War against the *Ætolians*. And now the King coming to *Ægium*, where the Diet was held, he there explain'd himself in many Points, and proceeded in such manner, as greatly pleas'd and oblig'd the Assembly; where

where they renew'd with him the several Treaties that had been heretofore made between his Ancestors and the *Achaïans*.

About the same time the *Ætolians* assembled in their General Council, where they elected *Scopas* for their Prætor, he who had been the Author of all those Violences we have related. By what name then shall we be able to distinguish such a Determination? For to spoil and treat their Neighbours in hostile manner, without any Declaration of War; and not only not to punish the Authors of such Outrages, but to conferr on the Ring-leaders the prime Authority in the Government, seems to me the extremity of all Dishonesty. For what gentler Terms will so vile an Action bear! But our sense thereof will be better known by what follows. When *Phæbidas* surpriz'd *Cadmæa* by Fraud and Perfidy, the *Lacedæmonians*, tho' they would not quit their possession, yet they punish'd the Authors of the Action, believing they had done enough to expiate for the Wrong, in the chastisement of the Offenders. In short, they might have proceeded with less severity, and it would have been more beneficial to the *Thebans*. Afterward, during the Peace of *Antalcidas*, they publish'd a Decree, That Liberty should be restor'd every where to the *Greeks*, who should enjoy their ancient Laws and Customs; nevertheless, they withdrew

not the Governors they had plac'd over the several Towns.

When they dissolv'd the Government, and ruin'd the Town of *Mantina*, they colour'd the Action by asserting they had done them no Injury, in transplanting them from one Town to a great many. But 'tis the sum total of Folly and Depravity, to think because our Eyes are shut, that all the World is blind. Thus both the one and the other of these People, by pursuing these pernicious Maxims in the administration of the States, drew on themselves many and grievous Calamities. Wherefore as well in Private Affairs as Public Negotiations, such Counsels are never to be follow'd, by any who would consult their own Good and Tranquility.

King *Philip* having now come to a Resolution with the *Achaians*, touching their common Affairs, return'd home with his Army, to make preparations for the War; having gain'd not only among the Confederates, but the *Greeks* in general, a mighty Opinion of his Goodness and Magnanimity, by the publication of the Decree we have mention'd.

All these Matters were transacted about the time that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* General was deliberating about laying Siege to *Saguntum* after he had subdu'd all that part of *Spain* that lies on the other side of the River *Eber*. Since the Enterprizes of *Hannibal* then take beginning,

ning, and bear date with these Affairs of Greece, there seems to be a necessity that we should treat of them alternately, according to the Method of our preceding Book; to the end, having punctual regard to the Time, we may confront (as one may say) the Affairs of both these People of *Spain* and *Greece*. But forasmuch as those of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Asia* were produc'd from different Causes, tho' they had one and the same event; we have therefore thought fit to handle them distinctly and a-part, till such time as we shall arrive at that Period, when the Matters whereof we have made mention come to mingle, and grow to conspire towards one and the same end. By which means, the beginnings and steps of each one respectively, will be made the more intelligible; and the interweaving them afterwards be less subject to confusion, when the time of the respective Occurrences shall be adjusted, and the Means and Causes of things duly set down. In conclusion, they will together compose but one intire History; and, in short, these Affairs became thus mingled toward the end of that War, which was finish'd in the third Year of the Hundred and Fortieth Olympiad. Wherefore there will be all the reason in the World to treat succeeding Matters conjointly, as those that go before separately, after having first briefly refresh'd the Memory in some Occurrences that fell out about those times. Having propoun-

ded to our selves not only to write our History with perspicuity, but so as to engage the Reader's esteem, who shall study it with attention.

King *Philip* pass'd the Winter in *Macedon*, in making Levies and Preparations for the War, and fortifying his Frontiers against the Attempts of the *Barbarians*, who were his near Neighbours. Afterward finding out *Scerdilaidas*, he a little too boldly confided in, and contracted Alliance with him; and promising him Aids towards his acquiring certain Towns in *Illyria*, and censuring the Actions of the *Ætolians*, (which pleas'd *Scerdilaidas* above all things) he easily won him to his purpose. For private Injuries have their force, and differ not from publick in the nature but magnitude of the Offences. And there is nothing so fatal to such as league together in criminal and violent Actions, as the breach of Faith among themselves. This was experimented by the *Ætolians*; for it was a Stipulation between them and *Scerdilaidas*, that he should share a proportion in the Spoils and Plunder that should be taken, who was to be a Party in the Crimes that should be committed, if he would joyn with them in their Expedition against the *Achaians*. Nevertheless on their taking and spoiling the City of *Cynætha*, where was found great Booty of Slaves, Cattel, and other movables, they admitted him to no part thereof. Which
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breach of Articles so distast'd *Scerdilaidas*, that when *Philip* had refresh'd the sense of that Injury, he was wrought to promise he would enter into the common Alliance, on the terms of being paid yearly the sum of twenty Talents, and would make War on the *Ætolians* by Sea with a Fleet of thirty Vessels.

And now the Ambassadors, who had been dispatch'd to the Confederate States, first coming to the *Acaruanians*, treated with them; who frankly confirm'd the Decree, and declar'd War against the *Ætolians*. And yet tho' they shou'd have taken time to explain themselves, and express'd their just apprehensions of the War, there is no People against whom less Offence could have been taken, as being Borderers on the *Ætolians*; and what is more, were very ill able to defend themselves, and not long before had been deep sufferers by *Ætolian* Violence.

But there is no doubt but a generous Nation, jealous of their Honour, prefers that to all other Considerations, both in their publick and private Treaties; and herein the *Acaruanians* have surpass'd most of the *Greeks*, who, weak as they are, have in defence of their Reputation, engag'd in the greatest Dangers. Wherefore there is no People among the *Græcians* with whom Friendship may be more safely contracted; there being none who profess more regard to publick or private Faith,

or will venture further for the love of Liberty. As to the *Epirots*, tho' they ratify'd the Decree, yet they would not yield to declare War against the *Ætolians*, till King *Philip* should first proclaim it: Wherefore they dismiss'd the *Ætolian* Ambassadors with promise to continue in good terms with them, wherein they made shew of very little Generosity. Ambassadors were dispatch'd in like manner to King *Ptolomy*, to dissuade him from yielding any help to the *Ætolians* against King *Philip*, either by supplies of Money, or otherwise. As to the *Messenians*, on whose score the War first brake out; they reply'd to the Ambassadors, That they would not ingage in the War unless *Phigalia*, which commanded their Frontiers, were first drawn off from the *Ætolian* League: But *Oenis* and *Nicippus*, with others who favour'd the *Oligarchy*, had procur'd this Declaration against the general Inclinations of the People, wherein they seem to have been much in the wrong. For while I deny not but War is an Evil greatly to be apprehended, so it is as true that our fear thereof ought not to subject us to suffer every thing, and debase us into Villanage to avoid it. For why do we keep such a stir about preserving Equality among the Citizens, and the freedom of Speech in Deliberations? Why, in short, does the name of Liberty bear such a Price among us, if there were not something more valuable than Peace it self? For what

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Man ever applauded the *Thebans*, who out of fear of the Dangers they must have been expos'd to, for the sake of the general Good of *Greece*, during the *Median War*, enter'd into Confederacy with the *Persians*. I am not therefore of *Pindar's* mind, who to defend that weak Action hath said somewhere in his Writings, *That a wise Citizen, who would study the true Welfare of his Country, prefers above all things the Benefits and Tranquility of Peace.* And he thought perhaps that he had all the World of his side, while on the contrary he could not have broach'd a more pernicious and scandalous Opinion. For as there is nothing more eligible and profitable, than Peace on Conditions Just and Honourable: So nothing can be more hurtful or shameful, than when 'tis purchas'd by Servitude, and stain'd with base and infamous Ends.

However it were, the Principal Citizens of *Messina*, who had no further Prospect than private and present Profit, pursu'd Peace more passionately than they ought. 'Tis true, that at the price of many Evils which they were content to suffer, they shunn'd some present Fears and Dangers: But the Disease increasing by degrees, they by those Measures brought their Country at long run into grievous Calamities. The best reason that I can conceive may be render'd in their defence, is, That they were Borderers

on the two most considerable States, not only of *Peloponnesus*, but of *Greece* it self, namely, the *Arcadians* and *Lacedæmonians*; of whom, the one was always their most implacable Enemy, from their first possessing of that Country; the other a peaceable Neighbour, wishing them well and desiring their preservation. Nevertheless they had never openly declar'd themselves either Friends to the *Arcadians*, or Enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore when at any time those two People chanc'd to differ, or were otherwise engag'd in War, the *Messenians* found their account thereby, and enjoy'd their repose: But when ever the *Lacedæmonians* were disingag'd from other Wars, they presently enter'd on new Designs to molest and subdue the *Messenians*; who never presum'd to contend with a Power so much superiour to their own: Nor had ever made any Friend, who would adventure any thing in their behalf; so they became oblig'd at length, either to comply with the *Lacedæmonians*, and patiently submit to the Yoke they impos'd; or otherwise to abandon their Country with their Wives and Children. In short, they had already frequently felt these hardships, and but a very little before tasted thereof. And it were much to be wish'd, that the Affairs of *Peloponnesus* could be settl'd on such a Basis, and the care of its Conservation might so affect Mens Minds, that there
should

should be no occasion of applying such Remedies, as I shall mention by and by. But in case any general Change or Revolution should threaten, my Judgment is, that there is no Course or Counsel so wholesome for the *Messenians* and *Megalopolitans* to preserve them in a safe and lasting Possession of their Country, as the contracting a firm and sincere Union one with another in every thing, according to the Advice of *Epaminondas*, and to preserve their Friendship inviolate.

In conclusion, this Counsel may be confirm'd from ancient Story. For the *Messenians*, not to mention other matters, erected a Column in the Reign of *Aristomenes* in the Temple of *Jupiter Lycæus*, where according to the report of *Callisthenes* this Inscription was engraven :

*Fate will not always favour Tyrants rule ;
Messenian Jove their ruin hath decreed.
Whatever Ills are done, no Ills are hid
From the Divinity's all-seeing Eye.
Grant then, O Jupiter, whom all adore,
Arcadia may be still in thy protection.*

It is not improbable but that when they were driven from their Country, they then erected this Column, with the Inscription, to implore as it were the Favour of the Gods, to conserve to them their second abode. Nor was it indeed without good reason ; for the *Arcadians*

arcadians did not only receive them into their City, upon their being compell'd to abandon their Country during the War of *Aristomenes*, but admitted them to a Fellowship of Privileges with their Citizens, and consented to their mixing with them in Marriage. Furthermore upon discovery of the evil Purposes of King *Aristocrates*, they put him to death and exterminated his whole Race with him. But to look no further into ancient Story, what hath come to pass since *Megalopolis* and *Messena* were restor'd, makes proof enough of the truth of what we have been observing. For after the Battel the *Greeks* fought near *Mantinæa*, where the Victory became undetermin'd, through the loss of *Epaminondas*, the *Lacedæmonians* in hopes of getting *Messina* into their Hands, would have excluded them from the Treaty of Confederacy, while the *Megalopolitans*, and the rest of the *Arcadian* Party obstinately oppos'd it; and so far prevail'd in favour of the *Messenians*, that they came at length to exclude the *Lacedæmonians* themselves from the Treaty.

Now if Posterity can but reflect with attention on these things, we shall not be censur'd for having thus enlarg'd on the Points we have been treating. And it will be perceiv'd that what hath been deliver'd, is in service of the *Messenians* and *Arcadians*; to the end that bearing in mind the Injuries they have receiv'd from the *Lacedæmonians*, they may

be incited to a closer Union in their Alliances : And that whensoever they would deliberate rightly about the security of eithers Estate, it may grow into an establish'd Principle among them to admit no breach in their Confederacy, either through fear of War, or love of Peace.

As to the *Lacedæmonians*, they, according to their manner, dismiss'd in the end the Ambassadors of the Allies, without any reply ; so much had their Folly and Pride prevail'd on their Judgment ; which verifies a good old Saying, That great Presumption is but another name for Vanity and Weakness of Mind. Afterward, on creation of their new *Ephori*, those who had been the Troublers of the State, and were guilty of all that Bloodshed we have noted, dispatch'd advice to the *Ætolians*, counselling them to send Ambassadors to *Sparta* ; which they presently perform'd, and *Machatas* soon arriv'd on the part of the *Ætolians*, whereupon he applies to the *Ephori*, demanding that *Machatas* might be heard in the Publick Assembly ; then he propos'd the coming to a creation of their Kings according to ancient custom, and that it was not to be suffer'd, and against the tenure of their Laws, that the Dominion of the *Heraclidæ* should be discontinu'd. None of the Propositions pleas'd the *Ephori* ; but wanting strength to stem the Current of the opposite Faction ; and fearing violence from
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the hot-headed young Men, they reply'd, That as to what concern'd the Kings, they would take it into deliberation. In the mean time, they were forc'd to assemble the People to give audience to *Machatas*: And being met, he there appear'd, and spake many things to dispose them to an Alliance with the *Ætolians*; impudently and unjustly calumniating the *Macedonians*, and extolling and foolishly exaggerating the Praises of the *Ætolians*. When he had left the Assembly, great and warm Debates arose touching the Propositions he had made, one Party holding with the *Ætolians*, and another violently opposing them. But at length, after certain of the gravest Senators had reminded the People, on the one hand, of the fruit they had reap'd by the good Offices of *Antigonus* and the *Macedonians*; and, on the other, the Outrages of *Charixenus* and *Timæus*, when the *Ætolians* broke in upon the Lands of the *Lacedæmonians*, and putting all to Fire and Sword, carry'd a multitude of the neighbouring People away captive; and did their best to surprize and ruine *Sparta* it self, aided therein by those who were under the Sentence of Banishment whom they took with them: The People thereupon were wrought to change their mind, and resolve to continue firm to their Alliance with King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*. So *Machatas* return'd home, without any fruit of his Negotiation.

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And now the Authors of the late Sedition, dissatisfy'd with these Proceedings, and resolving not to acquiesce to the present Methods of Administration, corrupted certain Persons to engage with them in a most detestable Enterprize. It is the Custom of their young Men to assemble once a Year in Arms, to celebrate a Sacrifice in the Temple of *Minerva Chalciaeca*; in the performance of which Ceremony, the *Ephori* are oblig'd principally to be present, and direct all things relating to the said Sacrifice. At this Solemnity then, a Party of those, who were in Arms to celebrate the Feast with greater Pomp, fell on the *Ephori* while they were ministring, killing them in the very Temple, tho' it were a Sanctuary even to those who were under Sentence of Death: And forgetting what was due to that sacred Place, murder'd those of their Party at the Table, and before the Altar of the Goddess. Afterwards, to compleat what they had projected, they caus'd *Gyridas*, and many other Senators, to be put to death; and banishing the rest of the *anti-Ætolian* Faction, came to an Election of new *Ephori* of their own Stamp, and proceeded to enter into Confederacy with the *Ætoliens*. So great was their Hatred to the *Achaïans* and *Macedonians*. But the whole World was witness, that all their other Counsels were conducted by the same Steps of Imprudence and Temerity; being indeed dispos'd to that man-

ner of Government through their Inclination to *Cleomenes*; whose escape from the *Ægyptians* and return to *Sparta*, they wish'd and daily expected. Such Impressions of Love doth the Gentleness of Princes leave in Men's Minds, that whether present or absent, it kindles such Sparks of Gratitude and Goodwill, as are not presently extinguish'd: And tho' it were now three Years since *Cleomenes's* flight, and the City had been govern'd according to their ancient Institutions, there had not been so much as one motion made in *Sparta* for the Election of their Kings: But the news of his Death was no sooner publish'd, when both the People and *Ephori* proceeded to deliberate thereupon. The *Ephori*, who were of the Faction of the Seditious, and had made Alliance with the *Ætolians*, chose for one of their Kings *Agessipolis*, whose Father was *Cleombrotus*, who succeeded *Leonidas*, he being the nearest in Blood. They appointed for his Governour *Cleomenes* the Son of *Cleombrotus*, and Brother to the first *Agessipolis*. As to the other King, altho' *Archidamus* left two Children begotten of the Daughter of *Hippomedon*; and there were others of the same Lineage, but more remote, tho' they were of the Family; yet these were rejected, and the Royalty conferr'd on *Lycurgus*, who descended not from any one Ancestor that had worn the Crown. But at the price of a Talent he bestow'd on each of the *Ephori*, he bought

his Adoption to *Hercules*, and his Title to the Crown of *Sparta*. So true it is, that all Villainies are every-where bought at a price. And it will be seen, that the Authors of these Violations, were not punish'd in their Children, or Children's Children, but they themselves liv'd to share the Fruit of their Folly.

Machatas receiving notice of these Proceedings, return'd speedily to *Sparta*, where he labour'd his utmost with the Kings and the *Ephori*, to dispose them to declare War with the *Achaians*, there being no other means left, whereby to vanquish the Difficulties they were now under, with those who oppos'd the Alliance with the *Ætolians*, who had likewise a Party in *Ætolia* it self. But having at length prevail'd with the Kings and the *Ephori*, he return'd back to his Country, after having, by the Weakness of those whom he had gain'd to his purpose, successfully executed his Commission.

As to *Lycurgus*, he march'd out, and made Incursions on the Frontiers of the *Argians* with the Troops he had rais'd, with whom was join'd the Militia of the City : So that taking the *Argians* thus by surprize, the Enemy easily effected their purpose. Soon after he took *Polichna*, *Prasia*, *Leucas*, and *Cyphas*. He got possession likewise of *Glimpes* and *Zarax*; after which good success, the *Lacedæmonians* proclaim'd War with the *Achaians*. Thus all things sorting to the Wish of the
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Ætolians, they enter'd on the War with great assurance, while, on the contrary, the *Achaïans* had but a melancholy prospect of their Affairs : For King *Philip*, on whom they most rely'd, was yet but forming his Army. The *Epirots* were slow in their Preparations ; and the *Messenians* continu'd Neuters, while the *Ætolians*, assisted by the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, attack'd them on every side.

At the same time *Aratus's* Prætorship expir'd, and *Aratus* his Son was, by the Suffrages of the *Achaïans*, chosen Prætor in his Place. *Scopas* likewise was Prætor of the *Ætolians*, whose time was now half expir'd, the *Ætolians* Election of Magistrates being in in the Month of *September*, the *Achaïans* March. *Aratus* the Younger then enter'd on his Charge early in that Summer, which was remarkable for the beginning of so many Wars : For *Hannibal* was then meditating the Siege of *Saguntum*. The *Romans* dispatch'd *L. Æmilius* at the Head of an Army into *Illyria*, against *Demetrius* the *Pharian*, whereof we have made mention in our preceding Book. *Antiochus* enter'd on the War, which was wag'd for the *Lower Syria*, after *Theodorus* had deliver'd up to him *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*. *Lycurgus* King of *Sparta* arrogating the same Authority as heretofore *Cleomenes* did, laid siege to *Athenæum*, belonging to the *Megalopolitans*. The *Achaïans* made Levies of Horse and Foot to sustain the War that so
much

much threatned them. *Philip* march'd out of *Macedon* with an Army of Ten thousand heavy-arm'd Troops , Five thousand Targe-teers, and Eight hundred Horse. These were the hostile Preparations that were then every-where making. Besides that , the *Rhodians* were at the same time engaging in a War with the *Byzantines*, the Quarrel being grounded on the Reasons we shall now deliver.

The *Byzantines* are situate the most commodiously of any People, who by their neighbourhood to the Sea, have all things transported to them that minister to the supply of human Life , or Luxury ; but they cannot boast of the like Felicity by Land with respect to the Sea ; their City stands so on the Coast, that no Vessel can go or come without their Permission. And whatever can be supply'd by the *Pontic* Sea, which yields abundance of every needful thing they are Masters of. In a word, the Countries bordering on that Sea, afford us plenty of Hides, and of good Slaves, Honey, Wax, salted Flesh, and all sorts of the like Commodities. The *Byzantines* enjoy likewise, by the Benefit of Navigation , all things of the growth of our Countries ; as, Oil, Wine, and the like. Bread-Corn is also a Commodity among them, which sometimes they buy , and at other times they sell. It will concern the *Greeks* then, either not to deal at all in these kinds of Merchandice, or to resolve to Trade without Advantage ; if the

Byzantines should at any time enter into League with the *Thracians* or *Galatians* : Or in short, totally to abandon all Commerce with those Countries; for we should be no longer at liberty to Navigate in the *Pontic Sea*, by reason of the straitness of the Inlets, and the multitude of *Barbarians* that possess the Country round about. There is no doubt then, but 'tis the Felicity of the situation of Places to which *Byzantium* owes the many Advantages it enjoys; for be it either for the Consumption of such things whereof they abound, or the Supply of what they want, they Negotiate both with ease, by the benefit of their Navigation; nor are those who hold Commerce with them, without their share of Commodity: Wherefore as they are beneficial to every one, so the *Greeks* in general have a just Consideration for them: And they do not only think they have a right to their Thanks, to but their Succours and Assistance, whensoever they are invaded or press'd by their barbarous Neighbours. But so far as the Nature and Situation of this Place is known but to a few, it lying out of the way of the general Commerce of the World; we have therefore thought it worth our Pains to shew how it comes to pass that *Byzantium* enjoys so many Advantages, superiour to most other Cities. For it is our purpose to be ever very particular in this sort of Subjects, and to endeavour to give such a prospect of those things as shall be found worth remarking,

ing, as to paint them as it were to the view; at least to engrave such a Picture of them in the Mind, that the Images shall be but just short of Truth it self.

That which we call the *Pontic* Sea then, contains in Circuit about nine hundred Leagues; it hath two Outlets or Streights, the one into the *Propontis*, the other gives it Communication with the *Palus-Mæotis*; whose Circuit is upwards of three hundred Leagues. And forasmuch as many eminent Rivers of *Asia*, and more of the principal Rivers of *Europe*, discharge themselves into this Lake, it comes to pass that when it swells by the Tribute of so many Waters, it enlargeth and emptieth it self by the Streight into the *Pontus*, and the *Pontus* is deliver'd by the *Propontis*. The Mouth or Streight of *Palus-Mæotis* is call'd *Bosphorus Cimmerius*; which is in Length about threescore Furlongs, in Breadth about thirty, the Extremities whereof are every-where full of Flats and Shelves. The Outlet of the *Pontus* is call'd the *Bosphorus* of *Thrace*, being in Length about one hundred and twenty Furlongs, but the Breadth is unequal; for at the entrance of the Narrow between *Chalcedon* and *Byzantium*, it is about fourteen Furlongs over; but further out about *Hieron*, a Place so call'd on the Coast of *Asia*, it is not above twelve Furlongs broad; it is reporred, that *Jason* first sacrific'd here to the twelve gods. In a word, there are two cau-

ses to which is attributed the perpetual Current one way, that is observ'd to run in these two Streights : The one plain and intelligible to every one. For while their Waters are incessantly replenish'd, by the Income of so many great Rivers, there is no other way but by these Streights to discharge them ; for being bounded and confin'd every-where by the Coast, the surplus of Water necessarily and naturally flows out by these passages. The other cause is this ; namely, that the Rivers swelling with the great Rains, their Streams become thereby so rapid, that mighty quantities of Sand and Soil are by the Torrent convey'd down ; which lodging at the bottom, occasion the Water to swell so much the higher, and consequently augments the Stream we are speaking of. These are the true Causes then of this constant Current ; and we are not to hearken to the Reports of Sea-faring People in these cases, but to have recourse to the Evidence of solid Reason, by which alone the natural Causes of Things are understood.

But since it is our chance to fall on this Discourse, it will concern us to endeavour that nothing may be left unsaid, that may serve to inform the Understanding, touching the nature of the Subject we are treating. Wherefore we shall labour to lay things down as plainly as possibly we may, to the end no Doubt may remain on the meanest Capacity. And, in truth, there lies an Obligation on
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us, who live in the present Age, to examine things with our utmost care and circumspection. For as there is nothing remains in these our Days undiscover'd of Earth or Seas, it would be a reproach to fly to Fiction with the Poets and others, who have paid us with Fables, to give us Notions of what themselves knew nothing. Nor will it become us to tread in the steps of Historians, who have gone before us, who (as *Heraclitus* observes) by their weak reasoning, leave doubtful things more in the dark. Our business therefore must be to win the Faith of the Reader, by the force and evidence of Reason. We conceive then that the *Pontus* and *Palus Mæotis* have been ever receiving, and do at this Day continue to receive, and fill up with the Sand and Rubbish that is brought down by the Rivers we mention'd, and will at last be totally fill'd up and levell'd; taking it for granted, that the Countries continue their situation, and the Causes hold their force. For since Time is without limits, and the Space subject to the Accidents we have noted, every-where bounded and enclos'd; what wonder is it to conceive, That tho' the matter convey'd thither be never so inconsiderable, that in process of Time that little will amount to fill a great space? And, in short, 'tis a Rule in Nature, That such things as are subject to increase and diminish, have their period some time or other, let the steps of Progression be

never so flow or invisible. But forasmuch as the quantity of Matter brought into these Seas, or Lakes, is not a little, but without question great, beyond all computation, there remains no dispute but the Effect we prognosticate will be soon seen, and is indeed now visible: For the *Palus-Mæotis* is almost already fill'd up, where in some places there is not now above fifteen or twenty Foot depth of Water, insomuch as there is no more adventuring to navigate with Ships of Burthen without a Pilot, who is acquainted with the difficulties. Furthermore, whereas this Sea (as our Forefathers have observ'd) was heretofore replenish'd with salt Water, as the *Pontus* at this day is, 'tis observable that it is now a fresh-Water Lake, the surface of the salt Water being surmounted by the accession of so much Matter, as is accumulated and brought thither by the means we mention. The like must in time fall out in the *Pontus*, and is in some measure already come to pass: But this cannot be yet so easily remark'd, by reason of the very great depth of Water in the Channel. Howbeit, those who carefully examine the Matter, may be satisfy'd of the truth thereof. Hence the *Danube* discharging his Waters out of *Europe* by several Outlets, hath begotten a Lift or Bank of Earth at least forty Leagues long, swelling above the surface, distant a Day's Sail from the Shore: Which Bank is observ'd to encrease daily by the addition

dition of new Matter constantly brought thither ; infomuch as whensoever Vessels happen to light upon any of these places, which Sea-faring Men call Shelves or Banks, they are for the most part broken, and suffer Shipwreck. Take then my Opinion how it comes to pass that these Mounds or Banks of Earth, grow at that distance from the Continent, and not nearer to the Shore : The Soil and Rubbish then, which by the force of the Torrent is convey'd down, is by the prevalence of the Current transported still forward into the Sea, as long as there remains any strength in the Stream that keeps it in motion ; but as that declines, (which happens by the depth and spreading of the Waters, which at length are lost in the wide Sea) the Matter which was before by the Torrent press'd on, sinks and settles to the bottom. And in proportion to the greater or less rapidity of the Rivers, these Banks or Bars are at a greater or less distance from the Shore, tho' the depth be great between that and the Continent. This is seen plainly in the gentlest and smallest Streams, whose Bars are nearer the Shoar, which yet in great Floods (their Current being quicken'd) transport and remove this Bar at a further distance than ordinary into the Sea, in proportion to the swiftness of the Flood, and the quantity of the Soil it brings down. Hence it will not appear strange, that such a mass of Matter as we have noted, should grow to

so great a dimension, as that which is found at the mouth of the *Danube* ; nor that such quantities of Sand only, but that Rocks and Trees should be unrooted and rent from their Seats. It will not then be hard, I say, to credit what we have deliver'd, but obstinacy rather to disbelieve it ; since we behold the smallest Brooks to make an easie passage through all Impediments, which increasing their Rage they come to pierce, and remove by their violence the hardest Rocks, carrying Sand, Stones, and all before them ; filling up, and so changing the face of things, that the View and Landscape becomes in a short space quite another prospect.

Let it not be thought strange then, I say, that Rivers so great and rapid, should produce such effects as we have Calculated, by their descent into the *Pontic* Sea, which we have maintain'd, must at length be fill'd up, and levell'd. For he who weighs the matter rightly, will not only perceive it probable, but necessary. For if we reason but from hence, that as the Waters of the *Palus-Mæotis* are fresher than those of the *Euxine*, and those of the *Euxine* in a degree different to those in our Seas ; it is a plain consequence, that the *Euxine* must at long run become a Lake of fresh Water, and at length a Moor or Fenny Continent. But this effect must be the product of so much a longer space, than it hath been brought to pass in the *Palus-Mæotis*,
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by how much the *Euxine* is of greater depth and content than the other: Howbeit, we may justly conclude, it will be by some degrees proportionably sooner, by how much more the Rivers there are greater and more numerous. We have been thus extensive, the better to inform such as think it impossible, that the *Euxine* (which hath already visibly suffer'd some advance towards it) should ever become fill'd up; and that so ample a Sea should, in process of time, grow into Continent. We had likewise a further end by thus enlarging on this Subject; namely, to reprove the fond and fabulous Relations of Sea-faring People, and that the Readers may not do like Children, who being yet ignorant of all things, listen with astonishment to every extravagant Tale that is told them: But having their Minds cultivated by the notions of Verity, they may become qualify'd to determine of the truth or falshood of what they hear.

But let us further examine the situation of *Byzantium*. The Streight then that lies between the *Euxine* and the *Propontis* is in length about fifteen Miles (as was noted): On that part towards the *Euxine*, stands the City of *Hieron*, on the extremity thereof; the other part towards the *Propontis*, terminates in the space or opening that lies between *Byzantium* and the opposite Shore: Between these on the side of *Europe*, and in the very narrow of all, stands

stands the 'Temple of *Mercury*, built on a Rock, that like a Promontory jets a good way into the Sea, where the Streight is not above five Furlongs broad. Here it was that Report makes *Darius* to have built his Bridge, in his Expedition against the *Scythians*. Now forasmuch as the Coast on both sides, from hence downward towards the *Propontis* trends away streight, and preserves a parallel distance as it goes, the Current by that means moves equally. But as soon as these vast Waters that descend from the *Euxine* Sea come to be pent up and streighten'd, by the narrow passage made by the Promontory where the Temple stands, which we but now mention'd, on *Europe* side, here driven as it were by some mighty force, they recoil over to the *Asian* Shore, and from thence return to the Coast of *Europe*, beating on those Head-lands or Promontories call'd *Hestiae*; and from thence with unspeakable violence take their course over to *Asia* again, towards that part of the Country call'd the *Ox*, where there stands a place bearing that Name, and where the Fable tells us *Io*, having swam over the Streight, first set her Foot. From hence, as one may say, being push'd off, it takes its course at length over to *Byzantium*, where the Waters now dilated and spreading themselves about the Town, the Current loseth it self, and carries but a weak stream into the Gulf, but terminates in a manner at the Cape call'd the

Horn.

Horn. In a word, tho' the greatest part of these Waters make their traverse over again towards the *Asian* Shore; yet forasmuch as the strength of the Current is now lost, the motion ceaseth ere it arrives so far as *Chalcedon*, situate on that Coast. For after so many reverberations, the Streight now opening wider, the force of the Stream being spent, cannot reach directly over; but with a kind of Bias declines and steals away. And leaving *Chalcedon*, dies in the Channel, and so pursues a direct course by the Streight.

Hence it comes to pass that *Byzantium* enjoys so many Benefits, and *Chalcedon* so few; while to the view one would be apt to judge their situation equally Advantageous. But as we have noted, the Navigation to the one is very tedious and difficult; while to the other the Stream compels, and gives a quick and easie passage. Hence those, who are bound from *Chalcedon* to *Byzantium*, cannot stand directly over, by reason of the strength of the Current; but are forc'd first to gain the Point call'd the *Ox*, and the Town of *Chrysopolis*; whereof the *Athenians* were heretofore possess'd, and were the first, who by the Counsel of *Alcibiades*, exacted a Toll from all that Traded into the *Pontic* Sea. From hence advancing a little, they fall at length into the Current, which then forceth them away directly to *Byzantium*. The like happens whether you are bound upward or
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downward to this place. For if Ships are bound from the *Hellepont* towards the *Euxine*, while the Wind blows at South, or from the *Euxine* towards the *Hellepont* during the *Levants*; the Passage is direct and easie along the Coast of *Europe*, from *Byzantium* to the Streight of the *Hellepont*, where stand the Towns of *Sestos* and *Abydus*. But those who sail from *Chalcedon* coasting it along, find quite the contrary; for they are forc'd to ply and turn to Windward, by reason of the Land of the *Cyziceni*ans, which runs far out into the Sea. In short, as 'tis difficult for those who are bound from the *Hellepont* to *Chalcedon* to Coast it along on the *Europe* side; so when they arrive near *Byzantium* 'tis as hard to fetch over to *Chalcedon*, through the exceeding violence of the Current, and the other Impediments we have mention'd, which cross their Passage. It is impossible then to arrive directly from thence at the Coast of *Thrace*, by reason of the strength of the opposing Current and contrary Winds; which, let us stand which way soever we can, blowing almost constantly Trade, is ever out of the way for that Navigation. For as the Southerly Winds blow fair to waft us into the *Pontic* Sea, and the opposite Point is fair to bring us back; so but with one or the other of these two Winds 'tis impossible to gain our Passage. Thus have we open'd the Causes from whence these great

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Benefits arrive to the *Byzantines* by Sea : And what we shall now further observe, will explain the Reason of their Misfortunes by Land.

Byzantium stands in the Country of *Thrace*, which borders on and begirts their Territory quite round from Sea to Sea, whence it comes to pass that the *Byzantines* are in perpetual Hostility with that People. And by how much these *Barbarians* are a very numerous Nation, and govern'd by many Princes; by so much is the Task more difficult to reduce them; nor have the *Byzantines* any prospect of being able, with all the Provision they can make, ever to deliver themselves from the Molestations of that War. For when at any time they chance to obtain any signal Victory over any one of these Princes, they are sure to have three or four combine with much greater Power to revenge and ingage in the Quarrel. And in case they should be dispos'd for Peace sake to yield to pay the least Acknowledgment to any one of these their Neighbours, they were to expect by gaining one Friend to purchase five Enemies. Whence it falls out, that in this Warfare there can be no end; and there is nothing more irksome than the Neighbourhood of so brutal a Race of Men, or more terrible than Hostility with a barbarous Enemy. Furthermore, over and above all these Evils to which they stand expos'd to the Landward, they are condemn'd
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to one kind of suffering, not unlike that to which the Poets have sentenc'd *Tantalus*. For possessing a rich and fruitful Territory, which they take care to Cultivate, their Harvest is no sooner ripe, when these Thieves visit them, and rob them for the most part of the Fruit of their Labour; which misfortune they lament in vain. Thus then the *Byzantines* become familiar with the Calamities they suffer, and by the force of Custom endure the Hardships of incessant Hostilities, persisting to preserve their ancient Alliances with the *Greeks* inviolate. But after the *Gauls* (to fill the Measure of their Adversity) came to be their Neighbours, under the leading of *Comontorius*, their Condition became then most deplorable.

These *Gauls* were a part of those who swarm'd out of their Country with *Brennus*; who, after the execution done on them at *Delphos*, did not presently pass into *Asia* on their arrival at the *Hellespont*; but invited by the Fertility of the Country about *Byzantium*, resolv'd there to fix their Abode. Afterwards subduing the *Thracians*, they establish'd a Regal Seat in *Tula*, and grew quickly to be Formidable to the *Byzantines*, whom they drove to great Streights; being oblig'd on *Comontorius* his invading and spoiling their Frontiers, to buy off that Burden by an Annual Present; sometimes of three Thousand *Aurei*; sometimes of five Thousand; and some Years it amounted to no less than ten Thou-

Thousand, whereby to redeem their Country from the Rapine of these *Barbarians*. Till at length they became driven to be plain Tributaries to the yearly sum of fourscore Talents, which lasted to the Reign of *Clyarus*; In whom the *Gallic* Dominion expired; the whole Nation being utterly exterminated by the *Thracians*. It was at this time that the *Byzantines*, sinking under the weight of their Adversity, sent their Ambassadors to solicit Succours from the *Greeks*, and seek Relief from the many Hardships they endur'd. And, in a word, press'd by their Wants they came at length to a Resolution of exacting a Toll, from all who navigated into the *Pontic* Sea; for but few of the *Greeks*, it seems, laid their Sufferings to Heart. But they no sooner began to levy this Duty, when the Innovation was resented on all Hands, and the *Rhodians* above the rest were censur'd, who being at that time Masters of the Sea, submitted to so undue an Imposition. And this, in a word, produc'd the War which we are about to relate.

The *Rhodians* then provok'd, as well by their own feeling of this new Tax, as through the Instigation of others, dispatch'd their Ambassadors jointly with those of their Allies to the *Byzantines*, to persuade them to abolish it. But the *Byzantines* could not be brought to accord to the Proposition, in confidence of the Equity of the Motives they had for what they

they did, and they were the more confirm'd in their refusal by the Authority of *Hecaton-dorus* and *Olympiodorus* ; who, being at that time first in the Magistracy of the City, oppos'd it with all their Power : Whereupon the Ambassadors return'd home with a Negative Reply from the *Byzantines*, and the *Rhodians* thereupon declar'd War against them, and at the same time sent to solicit King *Prusias* to joyn and take part with them, being well assur'd that Prince did not abound in good Will towards that People.

The *Byzantines* by the Example of the *Rhodians* dispatch'd likewise their Ambassadors to *Attalus* and *Achæus*, to solicit Aid from them. They found *Attalus* dispos'd to assist them ; but he was not in a present Condition to yield them any great effects of his Friendship, inasmuch as he had been lately compell'd by the Power of *Achæus* to retire and confine himself to the ancient Limits of his Father's Kingdom. As to *Achæus*, who now held the Dominion of the whole Territory in *Asia* on this side Mount *Taurus*, and had lately assum'd the Title of King, he fairly promis'd the *Byzantines*, and frankly embracing their part, put them in mighty hopes ; and thereby gave matter of apprehension both to *Prusias* and the *Rhodians*.

Achæus was of Kin to *Antiochus*, who succeeded to the Kingdom of *Syria*, and became possess'd of the Power he held, by the means

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we shall now relate. After the Death of *Seleucus*, Father of *Antiochus*, and that *Seleucus* his Eldest Son had taken possession of the Kingdom, *Achæus* accompany'd him in his March and Passage over Mount *Taurus*, about two Years before those Matters were transacted, whereof we shall by and by make relation. *Seleucus* had no sooner taken possession of the Kingdom, when he receiv'd Intelligence that *Attalus* had already seiz'd and brought under his Dominion all that part of *Asia* lying on this side Mount *Taurus*; whereupon he forthwith fell prudently to deliberate about the Affairs of his Government. But he had no sooner pass'd Mount *Taurus*, at the Head of a powerful Army, when by the treasonable Practices of *Nicanor*, and Villainy of one *Apaturius* a *Gaul*, he was Murder'd. But *Achæus* soon compass'd a just Revenge on the Traytors for the Death of the King his Kinsman; and taking upon him the Conduct of the Army and the Government, manag'd all things with great Prudence, and manifested in all his Departments a singular sufficiency and vivacity of Mind. And albeit the Sovereign Authority became now left to his Election, and the People freely courted him with Tenders of the Diadem, he nevertheless rejected the Offer; and determining to reserve the Succession to *Antiochus*, Brother of the dead King, led the Army from place to place, and manag'd the War so prosperously;

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that he soon recover'd all that had been lost on this side the Mountains. But vanquish'd at length by the Temptations of his Felicity, and after having beaten and confin'd *Attalus* to his own City of *Pergamus*, and reduc'd all those places that had been forceably possess'd, he renounc'd all those noble and generous Purposes he had taken ; and invading the Dominion, consented to be call'd King, and became the most active and formidable Prince of all on this side Mount *Taurus* ; insomuch, as barely on the prospect of his Friendship and Assistance, the *Byzantines* took assurance to wage War against the joint Forces of King *Prusias* and the *Rhodians*. *Prusias* had an old grudge against the *Byzantines*, who either out of inadvertency, or in contempt, had omitted to dedicate certain Statues, which they had once decreed to erect to him. He had a further motive of Indignation against them, for that they had interpos'd their utmost good Offices to give a period to the War, that had fallen out betwixt *Attalus* and *Achæus*, judging rightly that their Reconcilement would not turn to his account on many Considerations. Furthermore, he was displeas'd with the *Byzantines*, in that they had sent their Ambassadors to *Attalus*, on the occasion of his celebrating the Feast of *Minerva* ; but sent none to him when he solemniz'd the *Soterian* Festival. Thus having hoarded in his Mind so many various motives of Displeasure, it was

no wonder he embrac'd with joy the occasion the *Rhodians* gave him to discharge his Spleen; so they resolv'd by their Ambassadors, that the *Rhodians* should attack them by Sea; and he would prosecute them no less vigorously by Land.

These then were the Causes and the beginning of the War which the *Rhodians* declar'd against the *Byzantines*: And, in a word, the *Byzantines* engag'd therein with Courage enough, while their Hopes of the Friendship of *Achæus* lasted: And in prospect of *Tibites* coming to their assistance from *Macedon*, they took assurance to conclude, that *Prusias* (whom they most apprehended) would then share with them the danger of the War.

Prusias pursuing the Dictates of his Anger, had already fallen on the *Byzantines*, taking *Hieron*, a Town they had bought some Years before, at the price of a great Summ of Money, in consideration of the commodious situation of the Place, both with respect to the security of their Commerce and Navigation into the *Pontic* Sea, and the greater safety of their Slaves, and other Profits arising by their Trade on that Coast. He likewise seiz'd on all they possess'd in *Mysia*, a Territory in *Asia*, whereof they had been long Masters; while the *Rhodians* furnish'd out six Men of War on their part, to which the Allies adding four more, with this Squadron of ten Sail, they stood towards the *Hellespont*, the Command

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being given to *Xenophon*. Of these, nine remain'd about *Sestos*, to obstruct all Commerce with the *Ponic* Sea, while the Commander in Chief, with one Vessel only, shap'd his course towards *Byzantium*, as well to observe their Motions there, as to see whether these Preparations for the War had not wrought a change in their Resolution. But finding them firm and determin'd to abide the War, he return'd to the rest; and without any Action sail'd with the whole Squadron back to *Rhodes*. At the same time the *Byzantines* dispatch'd Ambassadors anew to *Achæus*, to solicit speedy Succours from him; they likewise sent to *Tibites*, to persuade him to come in Person from *Macedon*: For it was the general Opinion that he had a more rightful Claim to the Kingdom of *Bithynia*, than *Prusias* who was his Nephew. In a word, the *Rhodians* observing this firmness and diligence in the *Byzantines*, were as careful on their part to prosecute their purpose.

They observ'd, That this Obstinacy which appear'd in the *Byzantines* to sustain the War, was grounded principally on their prospect of Aids from *Achæus*; and knowing that *Andromachus*, Father of that Prince, was at that time under restraint in *Alexandria*, and that he labour'd by all means possible to obtain his Enlargement, they therefore resolv'd to send Ambassadors to *Ptolomy*, to prevail with him to put *Andromachus* into their hands. This

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Matter had been under Treaty heretofore, but not so solemnly ; but at this time it was solicited earnestly , to the end they might be thereby enabled to transact their Affairs with *Achæus* with better effect. In short, *Ptolomy* giving Audience to the Ambassadors, did not readily yield to their Demands ; for *Andromachus* being both Father to *Achæus*, and Brother to *Laodice*, the Wife of *Seleucus*, he propos'd to make a better Bargain of him for himself: For the Matters that had been in dispute between him and *Antiochus*, were not yet compos'd. And *Achæus* having now lately taken the Title of King, was become very powerful, extending his Dominions far and wide. Nevertheless, he was at length prevail'd with to gratifie the *Rhodians*, who at that time could do any thing with him : So he deliver'd up *Andromachus* to be by them restor'd to his Son. By which grateful Office of theirs, with other Honours publickly decreed to *Achæus*, they won him from the *Byzantine* Party, in whom lay their greatest hope of Succours. Another Misfortune beset them of almost equal prejudice to their Affairs: For *Tibites*, whom they had perswaded to leave *Macedon* to come to their assistance, dy'd in his Journey ; whose Death so perplex'd their Counsels, that they began to sink in their Resolution ; while *Prusias*, animated by their Afflictions, rais'd his Hopes, and press'd the War with greater vigour, levying Forces in

Thrace, whereby he so streightned the *Byzantines*, that on the side of *Europe* they durst not look abroad : So that, in a word, being thus frustrate of their fairest Hopes, and hardly streighten'd and in danger from all Quarters, they fell at length to deliberate how they might fairly deliver themselves.

Cavarus, King of the *Gauls*, happen'd to be at that time in *Byzantium*, who greatly coveting to be a means of composing these Hostilities, most readily and with great Affection offer'd his Mediation between *Prusias* and the *Byzantines*; whereupon they agreed to commit their Differences to his Arbitrement. When the *Rhodians* came to understand this Negotiation of *Cavarus*, and that *Prusias* had yielded to a Treaty (tho' they would much rather have prosecuted their first purpose) they dispatch'd however *Aridices* their Ambassador to *Byzantium*; but at the same time order'd *Polemocles* with three *Triremes* to make the best of his way thither, to offer to them first, as 'twas said, their choice of Peace or War.

Upon the Arrival of the Ambassadors, a Peace in short was concluded, *Hieromnemon Cothon*, the Son of *Calligiton*, being present : The Terms of the Treaty with the *Rhodians* were, *viz.* That the *Byzantines* should exact no Toll from any Ships that Traded into the *Pontic* Sea. On which consideration, the *Rhodians* and their Allies oblig'd themselves to preserve Peace with the *Byzantines*. As to
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King *Prusias*, the Articles of the Treaty with him were, That there should be perpetual Peace between *Prusias* and the *Byzantines*: That the *Byzantines* should never lead any Army against King *Prusias*, nor *Prusias* against the *Byzantines*: That *Prusias* should make restitution of the Lands, Towns, People and Prisoners that had been taken during the War Ransom-free: Furthermore, that he should restore such Vessels as had been taken at the beginning of the War; all the Arms that were seiz'd in their Magazines, together with all the Timber, Marble, Brick, Tyle, and all whatsoever Materials had been carry'd away: (For *Prusias* apprehending the approach of *Tibites*, had caused to be dismantled all such places as might be of use to the Enemy) and, in a word, oblig'd himself to cause restitution to be made to the *Mysians*, who were under the Dominion of the *Byzantines*, of all that had been taken from them by any of the *Bitbynians*. Thus was the War enter'd upon and determin'd, that fell out between King *Prusias* and the *Byzantines*.

At the same time the *Cnossians* sent Ambassadors to the *Rhodians* to demand the Ships that *Polemocles* had Commanded, together with four *Brigantines*, which they had lent them towards the War. This being effected, and the Vessels arriving in *Candia*, the *Eleuthernæans* believing themselves to have been outrag'd by *Polemocles*, who to oblige the

Cnossians, had caus'd *Timarchus*, a Citizen of theirs, to be slain ; having first publickly proclaim'd their Right to demand reparation of this Violence of the *Rhodians*, declar'd War against them. There happen'd likewise, some time before this, a strange Adventure to the *Lyttians*, or rather an incurable Calamity. To set down therefore, in few words, a State of the Affairs in *Candia* in those Days, take them a little more or less, as follows.

The *Cnossians* and *Gortinians* being in league, had by combining their Forces, subdu'd the whole Island of *Candia*, the City of *Lyttia* only excepted ; which standing singly out against them, and refusing to submit to their Domination, they agreed to make War upon them, resolving totally to destroy them, to the greater terror of those who should meditate the like Designs. Whereupon the rest of the *Candiots* in general fell on the *Lyttians*. But it was not long before a slight occasion (as is the custom of that People) set them at variance amongst themselves ; so that Factions were form'd, and Seditions grew between them. The *Polyrrhenæans*, the *Creteæans*, the *Lampæans*, *Oryans*, and *Arcadians* left the *Cnossians*, and by common Consent took part with the *Lyttians*. In *Gortinea*, the grave and experienc'd Inhabitants favour'd the *Cnossians* ; but the younger sort taking part with the *Lyttians*, begat great Disorders in the City. The *Cnossians* terrify'd at these Com-

moti-

motions among their Allies, procur'd an Aid of a Thousand Men from the *Ætolians*; whereupon the Party that sided with them, getting the Cittadel, gave it into the possession of the *Cnossians* and the *Ætolians*; and after having slain some that oppos'd them, and pursu'd some, and terrify'd the rest, they gave them up the Town likewise.

The *Lyttians*, in the mean time, led their Troops into the Enemy's Country, while the *Cnossians* getting notice of their Expedition, march'd and surpriz'd their Town, which they had left with little or no Guard: The Women and Children they sent to *Cnossus*, but the Town they burnt and totally destroy'd, exercising all the Spight and Cruelty practis'd in the most raging War, and so return'd home in Triumph. When the *Lyttians* came from their Expedition, and beheld the Desolation of their City, they were struck with that horror, that not one of them adventur'd to set his Foot within the Walls; but marching in a Body round the Ruines, celebrated as it were by their Cries and Lamentations the Obsequies of their Native Place, and then march'd away to the *Lampæans*, who receiv'd them with all hospitality. So that in the space of only one Day, they were banish'd their Country, which they had utterly lost, and receiv'd as free Citizens into another, with whom they incorporated, and prosecuted the War against the *Cnossians*.
Thus

Thus *Lyttia*, a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, the most ancient City of *Creet*, the Mother of a People surpassing all the rest of that Island in Courage and Virtue, was destroy'd and disappear'd (as one may say) in a moment. The *Polyrrhenæans* and *Lampeans*, and, in short, all the rest of the Confederates, seeing the *Cnossians* have recourse to the *Ætolians* for Succours, whom they knew to be Enemies to King *Philip* and the *Achaians*, dispatch'd their Ambassadors to these to sollicite Aid, and make Alliance with them; with whom entering into Confederacy, they sent them four Hundred *Illyrians* under the Command of *Plator*, two Hundred *Achaians*, and an Hundred *Phocians*. The arrival of these Recruits wrought a great Change for the better in their Affairs; for they soon prevail'd with the *Eleutherneans*, *Cydoniates*, and *Apteræans* (whom they had confin'd within the Walls of their Towns) to enter into the League, and abandon the Interest of the *Cnossians*. In a word, the Confederates following the Advice of the *Polyrrhenæans*, sent to King *Philip* and the *Achaians* a supply of five Hundred *Candiots*, the *Cnossians* having some time before sent a Thousand of their People to the *Ætolians*. Thus they interchang'd Supplies one with another to continue the War. At the same time the *Gortineans*, who were in Banishment, getting possession of the Port or Haven, and surprizing that

that of the *Phæstians*, from thence they infested and wag'd War with those of their own City. In this posture, at that time, stood the Affairs of the Island of *Candia*.

At the same time *Mithridates* declar'd War against those of *Sinope*, which became, in effect, the occasion of all those Calamities that afterward beset that City. Upon the *Sinopeans* demanding Succours of the *Ætolians* to sustain the War, the *Ætolians* made choice of three Persons for that Service, to whom they distributed the Summ of about one Hundred and forty Thousand Drachma's, wherewith to purchase Supplies of all things needful for the defence of the place. With this the said Agents made provision of ten Thousand Vessels of Wine, three Hundred and Sixty Pound weight of Hair-Cordage, an Hundred and Twenty Pound of Nerve-Cordage, a Thousand Suits of Arms, giving their Ambassadors in Money about Three Thousand Pieces of Coin'd Gold. They likewise furnish'd them with four Machines for casting of Stones, with Men skilful in the use and management of them; whereupon having receiv'd this Supply, the Agents return'd home. Those of *Sinope* apprehending lest *Mithridates* should Besiege them by Land and Sea, that Fear gave occasion for the extraordinary Preparations they made. *Sinope* is situated on the right Hand as we Sail toward *Phasis* in the *Pontic* Sea; it stands in a *Peninsula*,

ninsula, which stretches a good distance out into the Sea. The Town fills the whole breadth of the *Peninsula*, which is join'd to the Continent of *Asia*, by a neck of Land not half a Mile broad. The rest of the *Peninsula* advances, I say, far into the Sea, and being every-where Low-Land, the Town lies expos'd to be attack'd from that side. The extremities of the Seaward are with difficulty approach'd, where scarce a single Vessel can with safety adventure to the Shoar; and there are but few commodious Places there for Landing.

Those of *Sinope* then fearing Attempts of *Mithridates* both by Land with Machines, and to the Seaward by landing and possessing the level and lower Grounds which lie near the City; they therefore resolv'd to fortify the whole Circuit of the *Peninsula* towards the Sea; accordingly they barricado'd all the Avenues with a good Palisado, and the same fear advis'd them to furnish every proper place with Arms, and a sufficient Garrison where it was thought needful. In short, the extent of the Ground is not great, and may be defended by a small strength.

While these things were thus agitating at *Sinope*, King *Philip* march'd out of *Macedon* at the Head of an Army, (for there we broke off our Discourse, when we were relating the Transactions of the Confederate War) which he lead through *Thessaly*, and the Kingdom of *Epirus*;

Epirus ; purposing by that way to fall on the *Ætolians*. But in the interim *Alexander* and *Dorimachus* having found Men wicked enough for their Design, plotted to surprize the Town of *Ægira* by Treachery, for which service they assembled twelve Hundred *Ætolians*, drawing them together at *Oenantia*, a Town situate on the other side the Water, over-against the place we mention'd, where they made provision of Vessels and all things necessary for their Design, and there waited the occasion to put it in execution. For this Service certain *Ætolian* Fugitives were found, who had made their Residence some time in that place, and had taken notice that the Soldiers, who had charge of the *Ægian* Gate, kept but a careless Guard, minding nothing but Drinking and their Pleasure ; they had therefore frequently given *Dorimachus* intimation of what they had observ'd ; and knowing him to be fit for such Projects, invited him to ingage in the Attempt. *Ægira* is situate in that part of *Peloponnesus* that is wash'd by the Waters of the *Corinthian* Gulf between *Ægium* and *Sicyon*, standing on high Ground, and by Nature strong and hard of Access. The Town looks towards *Parnassus* and the Towns adjacent, and not a Mile distant from the Sea. In a word, *Dorimachus*, when Matters were ripe for execution, Embarks his Troops, and arriving by Night came to Anchor near the River that runs by the foot of the Hill where-

on the Town stands. *Alexander* and *Dorimachus*, together with *Archidamus*, Son of *Pantaleon*, at the Head of a good Body of *Ætolians*, attack'd the Town on that side which regards *Ægium*; while one of the Fugitives (well acquainted with all the Avenues) at the Head of a small Party of their bravest and most knowing Men, took his way over the Rocks and Precipices, and getting Passage into the Town by a certain Aquæduct, surpriz'd the Guard that had charge of the Gate, yet asleep; which having put to the Sword, and forcibly broken down the Barrier, they open'd the Gates to the *Ætolians*, which they heedlessly enter'd without any precaution, taking for granted they were now Masters of the Place. But this precipitation of theirs turn'd to their destruction, and gave the Inhabitants the opportunity of rescuing their Town. In a word, the *Ætolians* believing themselves now sure of Success, stood but a small space under their Arms in the Market-place, but pursuing their natural love of Plunder, began by degrees to Disband, and fell to pillaging the neighbouring Houses, it being now broad Day. The People of the Town were so terrify'd at this Surprize, that all who were in their Houses, which the Enemy plunder'd, betook themselves to flight, and got out of the Town, giving all for lost to the *Ætolians*. But those whose Houses had not been yet rifled, having more leisure

to bethink themselves, and coming out to make Head against the Enemy, hasten'd to the Cittadel; where their Number increasing every moment, their Resolution augment proportionably. While on the contrary the *Ætolians* grew weaker and weaker, through the Avarice of those who incessantly left their Ranks to hunt after Booty; by which means their Numbers and their Courage became greatly diminish'd. When *Dorimachus* began to perceive the Danger that threaten'd his Party, he endeavour'd to rally and recall his scatter'd Troops, and march'd to Attack the Cittadel; making account that the boldness of the Attempt would so terrify the Multitude, that were drawn together for the Defence of that Fortress, that they would incontinently fly before him. But the *Ægirates* otherwise minded, animating one another, oppos'd themselves bravely against the Enemy, and advancing to the Charge, came manfully to the Sword's point with the *Ætolians*. For the place being without any considerable Works about it, the Contest was for the most part at hand, and a Combat as it were of Man to Man: And, in short, the Dispute we may imagine was such, as when on the one part Men fight for the Liberty of their Country, and their Families; and on the other, for their Lives and Safety. But the *Ætolians* at length began to retire, and the *Ægirates* as warmly to pursue them, when they once per-

perceiv'd them to give Ground. The greatest part of the *Ætolians* then fell on the place, or were crowded to Death in the Gate. In conclusion, those of them who were not kill'd on the Spot, perish'd among the Rocks and Precipices by which way they endeavour'd to escape. Some that gain'd their Vessels having basely quitted their Arms, wondring at the fortune of their Escape, immediately Embark'd and made Sail away. Thus those of *Ægira* having lost their Town through their Negligence, had the Fortune to recover it by their Resolution.

At the same time likewise *Euripides* (whom the *Ætolians* had sent to the *Ælæans* for their General) having plunder'd the Territory of *Dyma*, *Pharæ*, and *Tritæa*, return'd to *Elis* with much Booty. As to *Micas* of *Dyma*, who was at that time the *Achaian* Prætor's Lieutenant, he assembled all the Forces of *Dyma*, *Pharæ*, and *Tritæa*, and advanc'd after the Enemy, who was now retreating. But pursuing with more Precipitation than Prudence, he fell into an Ambush, where he suffer'd someloss; about forty of his Men being slain, and two hundred taken Prisoners. *Euripides*, exalted by this Success, soon after took the Field again, gaining a Fortress belonging to the *Dymæans*, call'd *Tychos*, standing very commodiously. This Place, as Fables say, was built by *Hercules*, at what
time

time he wag'd War with the *Eleans*, and was his retreat when he made Inroads on the Enemy.

Those of *Dyma*, *Pharæ*, and *Tritæa*, who had met with so ill Success in their pursuit of the Enemy, beginning to be in pain for the future, (after the taking the Fortress of *Tychos*) dispatch'd Advice to the Prætor of the *Achai-ans*, imparting to him what had befallen them, and demanded speedy Succours; each of them apart sending afterwards their Ambassadors with Instances to the same effect. But it so happen'd, that *Aratus* could make no Levies of Strangers, inasmuch as in the *Cleomenic* War, they had withheld part of the Pay that was due to those who had serv'd in their Army. And *Aratus* himself was, in a word, but a very slow Mover in all Military Deliberations and Enterprizes. And that was it that gave *Lycurgus* opportunity to surprize *Athenæum* of the *Megalopolitans*; and afterward (as we have noted) to *Euripidas* to get possession of *Gorgona* of *Telphussa*.

When those of *Dyma*, *Pharæ*, and *Tritæa* perceiv'd they were to expect no Relief from *Aratus*, they resolv'd in their Assemblies to contribute no further to the Confederate Stock, but to raise Forces of their own for their proper Defence; so they listed three hundred Foot and fifty Horse, which they sent to the Frontiers. In this Determination it was agreed by every one, that they had

done very wisely for themselves, but very ill for the Confederacy and Common Cause of the *Achaians*. But a great part of this Failure may justly be imputed to the Prætor, whose custom it had been to amuse and deceive them by his Coldness and Procrastinations, tho' their Affairs were never so pressing. But 'tis, in short, incident to People in Danger, that while there is hope of Aid from their Confederates and Friends, their greatest Reliance and expectation of Support is from them; but those Hopes once lost, and streightned by Adversity, they become driven to apply Remedies of their own, and convert all their Strength to their single and particular Safety. Wherefore there seems to be no blame due to the *Pharæans* and the rest, for having made Levies for their own defence, while the *Achaian* Prætor fail'd them. But they are not without imputation of having done amiss, in refusing to contribute however to the Common Stock of the Confederacy. And as there is no doubt but their care for themselves in particular was just; so while they were able, they were indispensibly bound to contribute to the General Concernment of the League; especially considering that by the Articles of the Treaty of Alliance, they were to be repaid, whatsoever they should contribute, and what was of further weight, they themselves were the Authors of the Confederacy of the *Achaians*.

While

While matters were thus transacted in *Pe-
loponnesus*, King *Philip*, having march'd
through *Thessaly*, came to *Epirus*; where af-
ter he had incorporated the *Epirot* Supplies,
who were to join him with his own Troops,
together with three hundred Slingers that had
been sent him from *Achaia*, and three hundred
Cretans, who were supply'd by the *Polyrrhe-
næans*, he continu'd his march; and having
cross'd the Kingdom of *Epirus*, he came to
the Frontiers of *Ambracia*: And in case he
had made no delay, but had led his Army di-
rectly into *Ætolia*, and fallen by surprize with
so strong a hand on that People, he had in all
likelihood given a period to the War. But the
Epirots being instant with him to set first
down before *Ambracia*, he by that means
gave the Enemy time to fortifie and provide
for themselves. Thus the *Epirots* preferring
little private Gain, to the general Benefit of the
Confederacy, their passion to get *Ambracia* into
their hands, incited them to labour that *Phi-
lip* might make the Siege of that Place his
first Enterprize, coveting nothing more than
to win *Ambracia* from the *Ætolians*, which
nevertheless they saw not how it could be ef-
fected, without first becoming Masters of *Am-
bracium*, a Fortrefs of good strength, having a
strong Wall about it, and standing in the
midst of a Morass that surrounded it on all
sides; to which there is but one strait access or
passage, being a Causey made of Earth brought
thither

thither for that purpose. In short, this Place stands very commodiously for infesting the Country of the *Ambracians*, and the City it self: Wherefore *Philip*, by perswasion of the *Epirots*, sat down before it, and dispos'd things for the Siege.

Scopas, in the mean while, at the head of all the *Ætolian* Forces, takes his march thro' *Theffaly*, and falls into *Macedon*; where passing the Plains of *Pieria*, he ravag'd the Country without opposition: And after having taken much Plunder, he march'd toward *Dium*; which Place being deserted by the Inhabitants, he dismantled, burning the Portico's belonging to the Temple, and destroying all the Ornaments, and whatever was of use to the People when they assembled to celebrate their Festivals. He likewise spoil'd and threw down all the Statues of the Kings of *Macedon*: And he, who from the beginning of these Troubles, and in his first Expedition, made War not on Men only, but against the Gods, was, on his return home, not only not censur'd as an impious or sacrilegious Person, but honour'd as a Man of Merit, and a good Servant of the Commonwealth; and (by the promise of further success he made them) much animated the *Ætolians*, who now concluded none would dare to approach their Country in a hostile manner, while they themselves pillag'd with impunity not only *Peloponnesus*, but *Theffaly* and *Macedon* it self.

King

King *Philip* soon receiv'd advice of this Invasion of his own Kingdom ; and tho' he endur'd with pain the Obstinacy and Ambition of the *Epirots*, nevertheless he resolv'd to continue the Siege of *Ambracium* : And when he had perform'd all that could be expected in the like cases, and had terrify'd the Inhabitants by his Works and Approaches, at length took it on composition, after a Siege of forty Days. So turning out the *Ætolian* Garrison, consisting of about five hundred Men, who by Articles were to suffer no ill treatment, he gave *Ambracium* to the *Epirots*, and thus gratify'd their Ambition. This done, he leads his Army along the River *Charadra*, with purpose speedily to pass the Gulf of *Ambracia*, where it is narrowest, near the Temple of the *Acar-nanians*, call'd *Actium*. This Gulf comes out of the *Sicilian* Sea, and parts the Kingdom of *Epirus* and *Acar-nania* ; the Mouth is but narrow, being little more than half a Mile broad ; but it soon widens, and is in some places twelve Miles over, stretching in length about forty Miles in, from the *Sicilian* Sea, running between the above-nam'd Countries. *Epirus* is on the North-side, and *Acar-nania* on the South. After he had pass'd this Gulf with his Army, he took his march through *Acar-nania*, and drew towards *Phærea*, an *Ætolian* Town ; and recruiting his Army with two thousand *Acar-nanian* Foot, and about two

hundred Horse, he invested that Place; and after many vigorous Attacks, for two Days together, the third it capitulated, the *Ætolian* Garrison marching out with their Baggage, as it was artticed. The following Night, there arriv'd five hundred *Ætolians*, who came to the relief of the Place, thinking it had been still their own. But the King, receiving an account of their march, possess'd himself of certain advantageous Posts in their way; and falling on them, cut of the greatest part of them, taking the rest Pris'ners, a very few only escaping. Then after he had distributed thirty Days Corn to the Army (the Granaries of this Town being very well replenish'd) he march'd towards *Strategica*; and coming within little more than a Mile of the Place, he encamp'd by the River *Achelous*? From thence continuing his march, he ravag'd the Country round about, no Enemy appearing to withstand him.

About this time the *Achaians*, beginning to feel the ill effects of the War, hearing the King was at hand, sent their Ambassadors to wait on him, and demand Succours. These found him near *Stratus*; who when they had done their Commission, represented how profitable an Enterprize it would be to march to *Rhium*, and fall by that way on the *Ætolians*. After *Philip* had given Audience to the Ambassadors, he did not presently dismiss them; but holding them in hand, told them he would
deli-

deliberate on their Proposals : So decamping, he march'd the Army to *Metropolis* and *Conope*. At *Metropolis* the *Ætolians* held the Citadel, but quitted the Town, which the King destroy'd, and so prosecuted his march to *Conope*.

In the mean time the *Ætolian* Horse were got together, and boldly resolv'd to attempt the obstructing his Passage over the River, about two Miles from the Town, believing they should be able either to hinder his passing, or at least to do the Army much damage in the attempt. But the King, who had knowledge of their Purpose, commanded the Buckler-Men first to enter the River, and to approach the other Bank by Troops or Cohorts well cover'd with their Bucklers, after the Tortoise manner. These Orders being observ'd, as they gain'd the other Shoar, the *Ætolians* attack'd the advanc'd Party, and in truth made some dispute ; but when they observ'd these to halt, and to draw into close order, and that the second and third Cohorts joining them, compos'd as it were a Wall of Defence with their Bucklers ; they then gave back, and retreated into the Town, despairing to perform any further Service.

After this occasion, the *Ætolians* presum'd no more to come into the Field, but shut themselves up in their Places of Defence. After the King had pass'd the River, and spoil'd all the low Country without opposition, he advanc'd to *Ithoria*, a Place fortify'd and

strong by Art and Nature, and standing in the way of his march. Nevertheless, on the approach of the Army, the Garrison thought it best to retire and abandon their Works. Thus becoming Master of this Place, he order'd it forthwith to be dismantled and demolish'd, commanding his Troops that ravag'd the Country far and wide, to do the like to all the Fortresses they could get into their hands.

After he had pass'd this Streight, he mov'd by easier marches, the better to enable the Soldiers to carry their Plunder. Then having furnish'd the Army with all things necessary, he led them towards *Oeniade*, and by the way sitting down before *Pæanium*, (which Town he resolv'd to be first Master of) he took it by force, after many Assaults. This was a Place of no great extent, being hardly a Mile about, but no way inferiour to the others, as well for the Beauty of the Buildings, as the Strength of the Wall and Works. He caus'd the Fortifications to be raz'd, and the Edifices to be demolish'd, taking order with the Timber and Rasters to make Floats to transport himself to *Oeniade*. The *Ætoli-ans* seem'd at first resolv'd to fortifie and keep possession of the Citadel of that Place; but on the approach of King *Philip*, the fear prevail'd; so they quitted that likewise. After the King was become Master of *Oeniade*, he march'd into *Calydonia*, where he invested a well-fortify'd Place, having a strong Wall,
and

and which was well furnish'd with Stores and Provisions of War. For King *Attalus* it seems had supply'd the *Ætolians* with all things needful to the Defence of this Town : But *Philip* taking it by force, the *Macedonians* wasted all the Country of *Calydonia* ; and afterwards he march'd back to *Oeniade*. The King having well consider'd the commodious situation of the Place, as well for the passage it gave into *Peloponnesus*, as other Advantages, resolv'd to fortifie and begirt it with a Wall. *Oeniade* is situate on the Sea, upon the very out-skirts of *Acarnania*, where it borders on the *Ætolians*, at the entrance of the Gulf of *Corinth* ; it stands fronting towards *Peloponnesus*, and lies opposite to the Coast of *Dyma*, and not distant above twelve Miles from the Country that borders on *Araxus* ; wherefore he fortify'd the Castle, and laid the Design of joining the Arsenal and the Port, and destin'd for that Service the Materials he had caus'd to be transported from *Pæanium*.

But while these Things were under consideration , he receiv'd Letters from *Macedon*, whereby he understood that the *Dardanians* believing he had taken his march into *Peloponnesus*, had resolv'd to fall on him at home : That they had levy'd Forces for that Enterprize, and were making great Provision of all kinds for prosecuting the War. Whereupon judging it but just to repair to the relief of his own Country, he therefore dismisseth the *Achaïans*

chaian Ambassadors, giving them assurance, That as soon as he should be able to compose his Affairs at home, there was nothing more in his Thoughts than to come and give them his utmost Assistance. Whereupon he departed, marching with great diligence back by the same way he came. At his passage of the Gulf of *Ambracia*, in his way out of *Acar-nania* into *Epirus*, he was met by *Demetrius* of *Pharus*, who had been compell'd to fly out of *Illyria* by the *Romans* (as we have already noted) having only one single Vessel with him. The King receiv'd him kindly, ordering him to go first to *Corinth*, and from thence to take his way through *Theffaly*, and come and meet him in *Macedon*.

After *Philip* had pass'd through *Epirus*, he continu'd his march without halting; and on his arrival at *Pella*, a *Macedonian* Town, the *Dardanians*, who had got intelligence of his return, by certain *Thracian* Fugitives, terrify'd at his diligence and sudden appearance, dismiss'd their Army, after they were got near the Frontiers of *Macedon*. Whereupon having notice that the *Dardanian* Army was broken, he dismiss'd the *Macedonians* that were then with him, to go and gather in their Harvest, passing himself into *Theffaly*, to spend the remaining part of the Summer at *Larissa*. About the same time, *Paulus Æmilius* triumph'd magnificently at *Rome*, for his Victory over the *Illyrians*: And *Hannibal*,
after

after taking *Saguntum* by storm, march'd his Army into Winter-Quarters. The Romans now assur'd of the loss of *Saguntum*, sent Ambassadors to *Carthage*, to demand the delivering up of *Hannibal*; but did not in the meantime respite their Preparations for the War, having created *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, and *Tiberius Sempronius* Consuls. But forasmuch as we have treated at large of these Occurrences in our preceding Book, we only give here this hint thereof, a little to refresh the Reader's Memory, and to the end contemporary Affairs may be the better understood. And here we are come to the end of the First Year of the Hundred and fortieth *Olympiad*.

The *Ætolians* having in their Assembly created *Dorimachus* Prætor, he was no sooner seated in his Authority, when assembling their Troops he led them into the upper *Epirus*, where he acted all the Violences of War, not so much now in prospect of Profit to himself as in Malice to the *Epirots*. And on his arrival near the Temple of *Dodona*, he there burnt and demolish'd all the Portico's, spoiling the Ornaments, and destroying in short the Temple it self. Thus the *Ætolians*, careless of what is practis'd in time of Peace or War, acted such outrageous Parts in both Peace and War, as shew'd them ignorant of the Rights and Customs of human Nature; persisting to execute what they had once resolv'd without regard

regard to Gods or Men. As to *Dorimachus*, after he had done all the spoil he could, he return'd back to *Ætolia*. And now albeit the Winter was not yet over, and the Season afforded no hopes of King *Philip's* returning yet awhile; that Prince notwithstanding, taking with him three thousand of that sort of Troops they call *Chalcaspides*; from their carrying Brazen Shields; two thousand Buckler-men, three hundred Candiots, and about four hundred Horse; with this Body of Men he departed from *Larissa*, and took his march through *Theffaly*, and so to *Eubæa*, and thence by *Cynus* to *Corinth*; marching by the Frontiers of *Bæotia* and *Megara*; and in short perform'd his Journey with so great secrefie and expedition, that the *Peloponnesians* had not the least notice of it. On his arrival at *Corinth* he caus'd the Gates of the City to be immediately clos'd, and placing Guards on all the Avenues, sent the next day to *Sicyon* for the elder *Aratus*, and dispatch'd Letters to the *Achaian* Prætor, and the several Towns of *Achaia*, requiring them to let him know, how soon they could be able to assemble their Troops, and to assign a place of Rendezvous. This done he continu'd his march towards *Dioscurium* a City of *Phliasia* and there encamp'd.

At this time *Euripidas* having with him two Cohorts of *Eleans*, and certain Pirats and mercenary Strangers, amounting in all to about

bout two and twenty hundred Men : With these Troops he departed from *Psophis*, taking his march by *Phœnice* and *Stymphalia*, (ignorant of King *Philip*'s return) with design to attack and plunder the Territory of *Sicyon*. But so it chanc'd, that the same Night that *Philip* encamp'd near *Dioscurium*, he march'd by, leaving the King's Army somewhat in his Rear, expecting the next Morning to fall on the *Sicyonians*. But his People lighting on certain of the *Candiots*, who had been commanded out to Forage ; by these Prisoners *Euripidas* got notice of the arrival of the *Macedonians*. Whereupon he march'd back with his Troops without imparting his Intelligence to any Body, taking the same Road by which he came, purposing to prevent the *Macedonians*, and take possession of the Rocks and Ground beyond *Stymphalia* that commands the Passage. The King, who knew nothing of his Design, departed the next day as he had purpos'd, with intention to march by the Town of *Stymphalia* it self, and so to *Caphya* ; the place appointed for the Rendezvous of the *Achaian* Troops

At that very instant then, that the Vanguard of the *Macedonians* came to the foot of the Mountain *Apeaurus*, not a Mile from the Town of *Stymphalia* ; the Van of the *Eleans* in like manner approach'd the same Ground : Which when *Euripidas* perceiv'd, and by what he was told, and by reasonable conjecture

Sture became throughly satisfy'd that it was
 so; he takes with him a Party of Horse only,
 and to get himself out of danger, escapes to
Psophis, passing over Rocks and By-ways, the
 better to conceal his flight. The rest of his
 Troops beholding themselves abandon'd of
 their Leader, and being astonish'd at the sur-
 prise, stood a while to consider what was best
 to be done: For the principal among them
 were at first of Opinion, That it was only a
 Party of *Achaians* that had been drawn toge-
 ther, and came to the relief of the Country:
 Then perceiving they bore brazen Shields,
 they took them for *Megalopolitans*: For it
 seems that People had made use of these Arms
 in the Battel that had been fought with *Clea-*
menes near *Selassia*, *Antigonus* having so or-
 der'd it. So that keeping themselves in good
 Order, they continu'd their March, and with
 assurance approach'd the Mountain. But
 they no sooner became certain that they were
Macedonians, when quitting their Arms, they
 betook themselves to flight. About twelve
 Hundred of them were taken, some cut in
 pieces on the place, and many perish'd among
 the Rocks and Precipices; and, in a word,
 not above one Hundred of the whole Party
 made their Escape: So *Philip* sending the Pri-
 soners and the Booty to *Corinth* continu'd his
 march.

This Victory pass'd for a kind of Miracle
 among the *Peloponnesians*, the news of *Philip's*
 Coming

Coming and Conquering being told at one and the same time. After he had travers'd *Arcadia*, and surmounted the Hardships of the Snows, and Difficulties of the Ways, he arriv'd in three Days at *Caphya*. Here the King halted for two Days to refresh his Army; then taking with him *Aratus* the younger, with the *Achaian* Troops which he had there drawn together, amounting to Ten Thousand Men, he march'd the Army toward *Psophis* by the way of *Clitoria*, seizing on the Arms and Ladders in all the Towns in his march. *Psophis* is confess'd by all without contradiction to be the most ancient City of *Arcadia*: Its situation, with respect to *Peloponnesus*, is in the heart of that Country; with respect to *Arcadia* it stands on the West-borders thereof, towards the *Achaian* Frontiers, in the Neighbourhood of the *Elean* Territory, with whom at that time they were in League. Hither *Philip* arriving in three Days from *Caphya*, Encamp'd on certain Eminences that lie fronting the Town; from whence there is an easie prospect (out of all danger) both of the Town and Neighbouring Villages round about. From hence then taking a view of the great strength of the place, he grew in doubt what to determine; for on the West-side there runs a rapid Stream; which during almost all the Winter is no way fordable: This on that side fortifies the Town, and by the depth of its Channel, renders it almost inaccessible, the

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Waters falling from on high, having in process of time worn it to great depth. On the East-side runs the *Erymanthus*, a great and violent River, whereof many Tales are told, and are in every ones mouth. On the South-side, where the Torrent empties into the *Erymanthus*, the Town is environ'd with many Waters, which give it great strength on that Quarter. As to the other part that regards the North, there stands an Eminence very strong by Nature, and exceedingly improv'd by Art; and this Work serv'd them for a Citadel. Furthermore, the Walls and Works about the Town were considerable both for height and structure. And over and above all this, the *Eleans* had furnish'd the place with a good Garrison; and *Euripidas*, who had escap'd in the late Defeat, was in the Town.

When *Philip* had well weigh'd all these Matters, sometimes he resolv'd not to adventure to Besiege them; but soon again he became of another Mind, when he reflected on the great Importance of the place: For as it greatly annoy'd at that time both the *Achaians* and *Arcadians*, so it was a Rampier and Bulwark of the *Eleans*; he foresaw that were it once in his possession, it would become an admirable Fortress whereby to cover the *Arcadians* against the Insults of the Enemy, and an excellent place of Arms and retreat for the Allies, who made War on the *Eleans*. Wherefore

fore he became at length resolv'd to attempt the Siege ; and ordering his Troops to refresh themselves , and to be in a readiness under their Arms by break of Day, he commanded them to march down and pass the Bridge over the *Erymanthus* ; which they did without any Impediment, none suspecting they would adventure on so hardy an Enterprize : Then bravely approaching the Town, they came and lodg'd themselves at the foot of the Wall: Upon this, *Euripidas* and all within the Town were struck with great Terror and Amazement, having always concluded it most improbable, that the Enemy would ever be so adventurous, as to make an essay of their Strength against a place so well fortify'd and provided ; nor to resolve on a long Siege, by reason of the Winter and bad Weather. Nevertheless, with these Thoughts were mix'd certain Jealousies among themselves, and an apprehension lest *Philip* should become Master of the Place by intelligence. But these Fears were soon over ; and after they found there was no ground of Suspicion of that, there being none so much as inclin'd to *Philip's* Party, they then unanimously betook themselves to the defence of the Works, the greatest part of the Garrison mounting the Walls, while the *Elean* Mercenaries made a Sally by a Gate in the upper part of the Town, to surprize the Enemy on that side. In the mean time, the King having appointed three

several Attacks, order'd Ladders to be rais'd by People destin'd to that particular Service, against each assign'd place, with a sufficient Guard of *Macedonians* to sustain them: Then commanding to sound to the Charge, they advanc'd to the Assault on all Quarters of the Town. The Garrison for a space made brave resistance, casting down many of their Ladders. But it coming to pass that their Darts, and other Weapons of Defence in such occasions, beginning to fail them (for they were drawn to the Walls in haste, as was noted) and the *Macedonians* bravely maintaining the Attack, notwithstanding the opposition they found, new Men boldly succeeding and filling up the places of those who had been cast from the Works; that the Townsmen, no longer able to withstand them, deserted their Defence, and betook themselves for safety to the Citadel: So the *Macedonians* mounted, and became possess'd of the Walls; while the *Candiot*s, who were come to Blows with the Party that had made the Sally, beat them back, and in the pursuit enter'd pell-mell with them into the Town; whereby it so chanc'd, that the place was subdu'd and taken in all Quarters at once. The Inhabitants, with their Wives and Children likewise took Sanctuary in the Citadel, as did *Euripidas*, and all that had time to provide for their safety.

The *Macedonians* were no sooner Masters of the Town when they fell to plunder and rifle both publick and private Places, where they remain'd till they should receive further Orders. In the mean while, those who had retir'd to the Citadel, foreseeing what must inevitably befall them, having nothing there to sustain them, deliberated on yielding it up; accordingly they sent a Trumpet to the King, who gave them his Pass for the security of those whom they should appoint to Treat; who were the principal Men of the City, and with them *Euripidas*, who obtain'd Indemnity for all who were retir'd to the Citadel, both Towns-Men and Strangers. Nevertheless, the Deputies were order'd to return back, and there to remain till the Army should be drawn off, lest some of the unruly Soldiers, less observant of the King's Commands, should be tempted to rifle them.

The Weather being bad (much Snow falling) the King was constrain'd to take up his abode here for some days, where assembling all the *Achaians* that were with him, he first discours'd with them touching the situation of the Place; that it was well fortify'd, and of great use to them in the War they had on their hands. Then repeating the assurances of his fast Friendship to the Nation in general, he bestow'd the Town upon them, telling them, he was fully determin'd to give them all the assistance in his utmost Power,

and would let no occasion pass, whereby he might express his Affection to them. After *Aratus*, and the rest of the *Achaians* had express'd their grateful Acknowledgments for so many Favours and good Offices, the King dissolv'd the Assembly, and march'd the Army away towards *Lasion*; upon which the *Psophidians* left the Citadel, and came down into the Town to their respective Habitations. As to *Euripidas*, he departed thence to *Corinth*, from whence he went to *Ætolia*. The Magistrates of the *Achaians* gave the Government of the Citadel to *Proslaus* the *Sicyonian*, placing therein a good Garrison, and *Pythias* they made Governor of the Town. Thus were Matters accommodated at *Psophus*.

The *Elean* Garrison in *Lasion* receiving notice of the approach of the *Macedonians*, and being inform'd of what had pass'd at *Psophus*, deserted the Town; into which the King immediately enter'd; on his arrival, to give further instance of his Kindness to the *Achaians*, he made them a Present likewise of this Place. He also restor'd *Stratus* to the *Telphussians*, which the *Eleans* had abandon'd; and, in short, in five Days march'd to *Olympia*, where after he had sacrific'd, and magnificently treated the prime Officers of the Army, and allow'd three Days to repose and refresh his Troops, he march'd them into the Territory of the *Eleans*; where he no sooner enter'd,
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when he sent Detachments abroad to waste and plunder the Country, himself encamping in the Neighbourhood of *Artemissium*, whither having order'd the Booty to be brought, he afterwards return'd back to *Dioscurium*. And here, tho' they put all to Fire and Sword where-ever they came, and took many Prisoners; nevertheless, the greater part sav'd themselves by flying to the neighbouring Towns and Places of strength. For the Territory of the *Eleans* is the best Peopled Country of all *Peloponnesus*, and the most abounding in all things; for the Inhabitants are for the most part so in love with a Country Life, that how Wealthy soever they are, they cannot be drawn from thence to inhabit their Towns.

The reason of this seems to be, that the Government greatly encourageth that sort of Life, whereby their Lands become better cultivated and improv'd; insomuch as they receive from them all kind of Protection, and want no Privilege or Support it can give them. For my own part, I can easily believe they have been ever heretofore addicted to that manner of Living, as well through the fertility of the Soil, as the innocence and simplicity of the Manners of the ancient Inhabitants, while by the general consent of the *Greeks* they enjoy'd their Possessions without any Molestation; or fear of War or Violence;

in consideration of the *Olympic* Games that were there celebrated.

But after the *Arcadians* had now Challeng'd a right to *Lasion* and *Pisa*, and they were become oblig'd to take Arms to defend their Possessions, they became chang'd in their Manners, and forgot the ancient Customs of their Country : without thought of recovering their old Liberty, and have long continu'd for the most part in that state. Wherein, 'methinks, they manifest a very stupid neglect of their own proper Benefit, and the Advantage of Posterity. For since Peace is a Blessing which Mankind in general ask of the Gods ; and for the sake whereof there is hardly any thing we are not ready to do or suffer ; and since among all those things that bear the name of Goods of Human Life, that alone remains undisputed ; does it not seem a mighty Error then, and blindness of Mind, that while this Blessing may be honestly obtain'd, and perpetually enjoy'd to despise such a Treasure, and not esteem it a Felicity preferable to all others ? But let it be Objected, That such a sort of Government would expose them to the Insolence and Injuries of those, who should have a mind to make War on them, and violate their Faith. But this can but very rarely come to pass, and the general sense of such Violences, and the ready Succours of the whole *Greek* Nation would

soon

soon remedy such an Evil. And after all, Riches being the certain Product of long Peace, they would never want Mercenaries for their Money, whereby to strengthen themselves, and Garrison their Places of Defence; while now in these our Days, out of a vain fear of what is very unlikely ever to happen, their Jealousies one of another beget nothing but War and Violence; and the mutual Destruction of each other. We have thus lightly touch'd this subject in our way, to give a hint only to the *Eleans* of their proper Interest, and the rather inasmuch as they can never hope to see a more favourable conjuncture, whereby to regain their lost Rights and Privileges. In a word, if the *Eleans* chance at this Day to retain any kind of preference to their ancient manner of Country Employments, it seems to be no other than some faint remains of their old Customs, which are not yet quite extinguish'd.

Hence then it came to pass, that when *Philip* fell in upon them, so many Prisoners were taken, and yet that so many notwithstanding made their escape into their Towns. To the Fortress of *Ithalamé* especially many resorted, where they secur'd much Cattel, and great quantities of their Moveables; that Place being strongly situate, and the Avenues difficult, and standing remote from all Commerce, and almost every way inaccessible. But when the King became inform'd, that

many of the Enemy had retir'd thither, he thought himself oblig'd to attempt (at least his best) to dislodge them: Wherefore having first gain'd all the difficult Passes, whereby his Army might march with security, he left his Baggage in the Camp, guarded with a good part of his Army, and taking with him only his Buckler-men, and light-arm'd Troops, march'd through the Defiles which lead towards *Thalamé*. Those who were within the place, terrify'd at his approach, having been but little conversant in War, and wanting every thing for their defence; and there being great numbers of the baser sort of People mix'd with them, soon submitted, albeit they had a strength with them of two hundred Mercenary Soldiers that had been brought thither by *Amphidamas* an Officer of the *Eleans*.

As soon as *Philip* was Master of *Thalamé*, and the Booty they had there lodg'd, together with five Hundred Men, who were made Prisoners, and much Cattel of all sorts, he return'd back to his Camp. And now his Army being over-charg'd with Booty, whereby they became greatly hinder'd in their march, and all Military Expeditions, he found it necessary to retire further, and re-encamp at *Olympia*.

Among the Tutors and Governors left by *Antigonus* to King *Philip*, who came a Child to the Crown, *Apelles* was one, who had pre-

preserv'd a powerful influence over the young Prince. This Person then having conceiv'd a project of reducing the *Achaians* to the state wherein the *Thessalians* then were, began his Design by means malicious enough: For tho' it seem'd to him, that the *Thessalians* were a free People, and liv'd in the enjoyment of all their Rights and Liberties, and their Condition quite otherwise than that of the *Macedonians*; nevertheless, he was therein deceiv'd, for there was little or no difference between them, the *Thessalians* living liable to the same usage with the *Macedonians*, being oblig'd to do and submit to every thing the great Men of the Kingdom thought fit. Now forasmuch as *Apelles* bent all his Thoughts towards the compassing his Design, his first essay was on the Patience of the *Achaian* Soldiers, who serv'd at that time in the Army; he therefore caus'd the *Macedonians* frequently to dislodge them, and possess their Quarters, when they found them at any time better provided than themselves; and often to deprive them of their Plunder. In a word, he caus'd them to be severely treated by the common Executioners on every slight occasion: And if at any time they complain'd, or the Soldiers appear'd to rescue their Friends from such hard Treatment, he caus'd them to be taken into Custody; conceiving, that by this sort of usage, he should be able, by degrees, and unobserv'd to bring the *Achaians* to bear by Custom

from any burthen the King should think fit to lay upon them.

Thus *Apelles* was not without hopes of compassing his purpose, from his having observ'd, that heretofore in the time of *Antigonus*, the *Achaians* cheerfully underwent many Hardships, to purchase their exemption from the Authority of *Cleomenes*. But so it chanc'd, that certain *Achaian* Soldiers, provok'd by this Usage, assembled themselves, and went and imparted the Project and Practice of *Apelles* to *Aratus*: Who thereupon apply'd himself to the King, to obtain a Remedy for this Evil ere it got a head. *Philip* now inform'd of what had been done, call'd these Soldiers to him, and gave them assurance that care should be taken for the future, that no such Injury should be offer'd them, bidding them rely on his Word; and accordingly he order'd *Apelles* to determine nothing at any time about the *Achaian* Soldiers, without first communicating with their Prætor, or Chief Officer. Thus *Philip* acquir'd a mighty Reputation, not only among his own Subjects, but throughout all *Peloponnesus*; as well by his manner of Treatment of the Allies in the Camp, as by his personal Courage, Vigilance, and Abilities in War. And in truth it would have been hard to find a Prince to whom Nature had been more bountiful in those Gifts and Qualities, that are found necessary to the acquisition of Power and Empire: His Understan-

derstanding was clear, his Memory excellent, and his Person and Fashion bore the Majesty he held; but his brightest Vertues were his Resolution and Military Abilities. But in regard it would be too long a digression, to recount here how it came to pass that he lost this excellent Character, and from a great King became a Tyrant; we will therefore refer that Story to a more proper place.

King *Philip* then decamping from *Olympia*, march'd towards *Pharæ*, and soon after came to *Telphussa*, and from thence to *Heræa*, where he caus'd all the Booty to be sold. Here he order'd a Bridge to be made over the River *Alpheus*, whereby to facilitate his passage into the Territory of the *Tryphalians*. At the same time *Dorimachus* Prætor of the *Ætolians*, sent six hundred of that Nation under the Command of *Phylidas*, to the Aid of the *Eleans*, who had demanded Succours against those that wasted their Country. *Phylidas* on his arrival joining five hundred Mercenaries to his own Troops, who were list'd into the *Ætolian* Pay, and adding to them a thousand of the City-Bands, together with certain *Tarentines*, march'd to the relief of the *Tryphalians*. This Country takes its Name from an *Arcadian* Boy call'd *Tryphalus*: It stands in the Maritime parts of *Peloponnesus*, between the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, looking towards the *Lybian* Sea, on the skirts of *Achaia* towards the North-West. The Towns of this Country

try are *Samicum*, *Lepreum*, *Hypana*, *Typanæa*, *Pyrgus*, *Æpyum*, *Bolax*, *Styllagium*, and *Phryxa*. The *Eleans* having of late days subdu'd and reduc'd all these Places to their Obedience, to which they added *Alipheræa*, heretofore an *Arcadian* Town; and *Megalopolis* it self, by the procurement of *Alliadas*, while the Sovereignty was in his hand, which was negotiated by way of exchange, for certain Reasons best known to him and the *Eleans*.

The King being now quit of his Plunder and Baggage, passing the *Alpheus* which runs by the Walls of *Heræa*, came to *Alipheræa*: This Town is seated on an Eminence, which lies steep and sloping every way, being an ascent of above a Mile to the top, where stands a Fortrefs, in which there is a Statue of Brass of *Minerva*, famous for its Magnitude and the Excellence of the Workmanship. The Inhabitants themselves can give no very clear account why it was there plac'd, nor at whose Charge it was done. But as to the Workmen, all conclude it to have been wrought by the hands of *Hecatodorus* and *Sostratus*; and that it is the most beautiful and finish'd Piece they ever perform'd. *Philip* having order'd those who carry'd the Scaling-Ladders to be ready by Day-break, at certain places assign'd them, sent his Mercenaries before, and to sustain them a Body of *Macedonians*, giving them Orders to begin
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all together to mount the Hill, at the instant the Sun appear'd above the Horizon : Which Directions were punctually and with great Resolution observ'd by the *Macedonians*. Those of the place hastening to that part where they saw the *Macedonians* in greatest number, gave the King opportunity at the head of a Party of chosen Men, to pass unobserv'd by those of the Fortrefs, over certain broken Grounds, full of Rocks and Precipices: From whence giving the Signal, they approach'd with their Ladders to mount the Works. *Philip* himself first enters, and takes possession of an unguarded part of the Place, which he immediately sets in a flame ; whereupon those , who were defending the Wall, beholding all on fire, terrify'd at the Danger they saw so near them, and fearing they should lose the Citadel, which was their last Refuge, forthwith abandon'd the Defence of their Wall, and hastned thither. Whereupon the *Macedonians* became presently Masters of the Works and the Town. But those who were retreated to the Citadel, soon sent to the King, and, on composition for their Lives , yielded it up. This Success spread Fear throughout all the Country of *Tryphalia*, and every one began to deliberate how to preserve themselves and save their Country.

As to *Phylidas*, he having quitted *Trypanæa*, and committed some Spoils on the *Alies*, retir'd to *Lepreum*. For in those times, the Confederates of the *Ætolians* were accustomed,

flom'd, tho' in Amity, not only to be by them deserted in their greatest straits, but suffer'd themselves to be plunder'd and betray'd by them; and endur'd at their hands (who call'd them Friends) all the Outrages that could be fear'd from a conquering Enemy. Those of *Typanæa* gave up their City to King *Philip*; and the *Typanæans* follow'd their example. In the mean time, the *Phialians* having understood what pass'd in *Tryphalia*, detesting the *Ætolian* League, resolutely took possession of the Palace, where the Polemarchs or Magistrates resided. As to the *Ætolian* Pilferers, who held their abode at *Phialia*, with design to spoil from thence the Lands of the *Messenians*, and were at that time consulting about enterprizing something on the *Phialians* themselves; when they came to understand that the Inhabitants were determin'd to stand on their guard, and repel Force by Force, they thereupon chang'd their purpose, and after having taken certain Security of those of the Town, they march'd out with all their Baggage; whereupon the *Phialians* dispatch'd their Deputies to the King, giving their Town and Country up to his discretion.

During these Transactions, the *Lepreans* seizing a quarter of the Town into their hands, attempted to force out of the Citadel, the *Ætolians*, *Eleans*, and the Troops that had been sent to their relief by the *Lacedæmonians*. But
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Phylidas at first set light by this their Attempt, seeming resolv'd to do his best to preserve the Town in Obedience, and terrifie the Inhabitants. But on *Philip's* sending *Taurion* with part of the Army towards *Phialia*, and himself now drawing near, his Courage began to sink; whereupon the *Lepreans* grew more assur'd, and did an Action in that occasion very memorable. For albeit there were at that time in the Town a thousand *Eleans*, five hundred *Ætolians*, and two hundred *Lacedæmonians*, and the Citadel over and above in their hands; they had nevertheless the Resolution to enterprize the delivering of their Country, and would not consent to betray themselves by a slavish Fear or Submission. Wherefore *Phylidas* perceiving the Citizens determination, march'd together with the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians* out of the Town; as to the *Cretans*, who had been sent by the *Spartiatæ*, they return'd by the way of *Messina* to their own Country, and *Phylidas* retreated to *Samicum*. As soon as the *Lepreans* became Masters of their Liberty, they dispatch'd their Deputies to *Philip* to make tender of their City, and put it into his hands. After the King had given them Audience, he dispatch'd a part of his Troops to *Leprea*; and continu'd his march with his Buckler-men, and light-arm'd Troops, being determin'd to attack *Phylidas*; who (with the loss of all his Plunder and Baggage) was,

as we said, retreated to *Samicum*, whither the King speedily came, and encamp'd in view of the Place; and sending his Orders for the rest of his Troops to join him from *Leprea*, made countenance of resolving to besiege it. Whereupon the *Eleans* and *Ætoli-ans*, who were unprovided for Defence, and had nothing but the bare Walls to trust to, began to capitulate; so it was agreed they should march out with their Arms; from whence they went to *Elea*. Thus the King became Master of *Samicum*. And now upon the Supplication of the Towns round about, he receiv'd them all into his Protection; as, namely, *Phryxa*, *Styllagium*, *Epia*, *Bolax*, *Pyrge*, and *Epitalia*, and so march'd back to *Leprea*, having in the space of six Days compass'd the Reduction of all *Tryphalia* to his Obedience.

After some Conference with the *Lepreans*, suiting the time and occasion, he put a Garrison into the Citadel, and led his Army towards *Heræa*, leaving *Ladicus* the *Acarnanian* his Governour in *Tryphalia*. Upon his arrival at *Heræa*, he order'd the Booty to be divided and distributed to the Soldiers; and after he had victual'd the Army, and supply'd himself with all things necessary, he departed from *Heræa*, being then mid-winter, and march'd towards *Megalopolis*.

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While Success thus waited on the Arms of King *Philip* in *Tryphalia*, *Chilon* the *Lacedæmonian*, conceiving the Right of Succession to the Crown to be in him, and not longer able to suffer the Injury that had been done him by the *Ephori*, (who in his wrong had preferr'd *Lycurgus* to the Royalty) was determin'd to attempt something towards doing himself Justice. Wherefore being perswaded he should win much on the People, if by the example of *Cleomenes* (and many others) he gave them hopes of a new division of the Lands; he by that means meditated how to put his Enterprize in effect. After he had imparted his purpose then to his Friends, whereof there were no less than two hundred, who engag'd in the Conspiracy, he resolv'd to lose no time. But forasmuch as he well knew, that *Lycurgus* and the *Ephori* who had elected him, were the main Impediment, he first attack'd them, and surprizing the *Ephori* as they sat at Table, kill'd them there. Thus did Fortune bring those Men to suffer what their Practices had demerited; for whether we consider either the Actor, or the Action, it cannot but be confess'd their end was just. After they had dispatch'd the *Ephori*, *Chilon* hastens to the House of *Lycurgus*, but chanc'd there to be disappointed; he, by the help of his Friends and Servants being secretly convey'd away, making his escape to *Pellene*, by private ways, unknown to his Enemy. And

now tho' *Chilon* fail'd of effecting the most important part of his Enterprize, and had but an indifferent prospect of Success; nevertheless, he was under a necessity of prosecuting what he had began. Wherefore going into the Market-place, he there attacks and kills all he could find, whom he knew to be his Enemies; greatly animating his Friends and Relations, and giving some hopes to the Multitude. But beholding at length when he had done all, that few or none took part with him; on the contrary finding himself in danger, he secretly withdrew and departed; taking his way through the Territory of *Laconia*, and so escap'd into *Achaia*, where he liv'd as a banish'd Man.

The *Lacedæmonians* apprehending the approach of King *Philip*, secur'd their Effects in the Country, flighted *Athenæum* of the *Megalopolitans*, and dismantled the Works.

Thus the People of *Sparta*, who had long liv'd in the injoyment of so excellent a form of Government, from the time that *Lycurgus* gave them their Laws; and who held so great a share of Power and Reputation till the Bat-tel of *Leuctra*, fell at length (when Fortune had forsaken them) into deplorable Calamities. Their Reputation diminish'd every day; intestine jarrs vex'd and tormented them, under colour of dividing their Lands, till in the end they were brought so low as to submit to the Tyranny of *Nabis*, who heretofore could

could not brook to hear so much as the Name of Tyrant. But enough has been said by others on the subject of the ancient *Lacedæmonians* and their Actions, and every Body knows what befel them, as soon as *Cleomenes* had subverted the establish'd Laws and Form of their Republick; nor shall we omit to make further mention of them as occasion shall be given. From *Megalopolis* *Philip* march'd his Troops by the way of *Tegæa* to *Argos*, where he pass'd the remainder of the Winter; having acquir'd a Reputation much greater than his Age promis'd, through the many, noble, and early Actions he had already perform'd. In the mean time, *Apelles* (of whom we have already spoken) had not so given over his Project as to be without hopes, as was plainly seen, of bringing by degrees the *Achaïans* Necks to the Yoke. But he well knew that *Aratus*, both Father and Son, withstood his Design, and that the King held them in singular esteem, especially the Father, who had been in great Reputation with *Antigonus*, and was known to be a very powerful Man among the *Achaïans*; and the King himself, I say, valu'd him for his Prudence and great Abilities. Wherefore *Apelles* resolv'd to attack these two, and by fraud and address do his best to ruine them with King *Philip*. Pursuant to which, he first carefully informs himself of their Enemies, and all who among the *Achaïans* were

of the opposite Faction ; and being well instructed in their several Interests and Characters, he sends for them to Court ; and on their Arrival, employs all his Arts to win and engage them to his Friendship, acting in their Favour with the King, whom he labour'd to persuade, That if he continu'd to treat the *Aratuses* with so much Deference, he could never hope to gain any thing on the *Achaians*, further than what was stipulated by the Articles of the Confederacy. But if he should please to countenance and encourage those he should recommend, he would soon compass whatever he desir'd, and dispose of all Matters in *Peloponnesus* at his pleasure. Furthermore, the time of Election of their Prætor drawing nigh, he resolv'd to do his best to conferr that Dignity on one of his own Party, and to diminish by all means possible the Power of the *Aratuses* Administration, as being in no wise proper for his use in the Part he had to act ; whereupon he prevail'd with the King to go as it were in Progress to *Ægium*, and to be present at the *Achaian* Assembly. So *Philip* follow'd his Counsel, and fail'd not to be there in due time ; where *Apelies* by Threats on the one hand, and Persuasion on the other, compass'd with great difficulty the Election of *Eperatus* the *Pharian*, to the Prætorship, in preference to *Timoxenus*, who had been set up by *Aratus*.

Soon after, the King departed from *Ægium*, marching the Army towards *Patrae* and *Dymas*, and came to the Fortrefs of *Tichos*, which stands on the Borders of the *Dymæans*, and whereof, as hath been elfewhere observ'd, *Euripidas* had been long before possess'd. The King then being very defirous to win back this Castle, and restore it to the *Dymæans*, encamp'd with the whole Army by it; whereupon the *Elean* Garrison within became fo terrify'd, that they quickly deliver'd it up. This place, tho' but small, is exceeding strong; it is not in circuit above a Furlong, but the Walls are not less than five and fifty Foot high. So the King restor'd it to the *Dymæans*, and then led his Army into the Country of the *Eleans*, wasting and plundering far and wide; and after he had loaden the Soldiers with Booty, return'd back to *Dymas*. *Apelles*, who began now to think he had advanc'd far in his Enterprize; having obtain'd an *Achaian* Prætor of his Faction, he renew'd his Attempts on the *Aratufes*, being determin'd totally to destroy their Interest with the King. He pursu'd them then with Calumnies, which he thus manag'd: *Amphidamus*, chief of the *Eleans*, who had been taken Prisoner at *Thalamé*, (whither he was retir'd, as hath been told) being brought among others to *Olympia*, so wrought by the mediation of Friends, that he was admitted to a Conference with the King; in which

Audience he persuaded him, That it would be no difficult matter to procure him the Friendship of the *Eleans*, and that he well knew by what means to effect it, and make that People cover his Alliance. The King being wrought to believe him, forthwith discharg'd him without Ransom; impow'ring him to assure the *Eleans*, That on condition of their ent'ring into League with him, all their Prisoners should be enlarg'd Ransom-free: That he would protect their Country from Plunder, and all the wasteful effects of War, and confirm and preserve their rightful Liberties, so as they should live in the entire enjoyment of all their Privileges, and be exempt both from Garrisons and Tribute. And now albeit these Overtures contain'd so much favour, and might be thought sufficient to engage them; nevertheless, the *Eleans* would not be drawn to listen to them, but remain'd immovable.

This incidence arm'd *Apelles* with Calumnies against the *Aratuses*, who charg'd them with Insincerity to the King, and that they did not, as they ought, serve the Interest of the League in which they were engag'd with the *Macedonians*, telling the King, if the *Eleans* had shewn any aversion to his Friendship, it was wholly due to the Artifices of the *Aratuses*: That, in short, upon *Amphidamus's* departure from *Olympia* towards *Elis*, they took an occasion to have Conference with

with him, and so prevail'd, that he became of another Mind, and chang'd his Purpose; being by them perswaded, That it would be in no wise for the Interest of the *Peloponnesians*, that King *Philip* should acquire any Power over the *Eleans*; and that this was the cause why the *Eleans* receiv'd the King's Proposals so coldly, and persisted in their Confederacy with the *Ætolians*, and endur'd so patiently the Mischiefs they suffer'd from the *Macedonians*.

As soon as *Philip* had heard these things, he order'd the two *Aratuses* to be sent for, to the end he might confront them with their Accuser, who should be oblig'd to charge them to their Faces with these Matters, whereof they had been accus'd to him in private. Whereupon they came and heard what *Apelles* had to say; who charg'd them roundly and with great assurance, and a Countenance full of Menaces; adding, in the King's Presence (who had not yet spoken) That since the King had discover'd their Ingratitude to him, and that they had render'd themselves so unworthy of his good Offices, he had therefore deliberated on calling an Assembly of the *Achaians*, to whom he would impart the Cause, and then return with his Army into *Macedon*. Whereupon the elder *Aratus* reply'd, praying the King not over-hastily to give credit to what he heard; and that whensoever he should stand accus'd of any Matters to him, by any

Friend or Ally, he would vouchsafe to sit and examine every thing with Caution, before he came to believe a Calumnious Impeachment against him : That furthermore, as it became the Justice of a Prince so to do, so the thing in it self was advantageous to him : That in the mean time, it would be but fair-dealing in *Apelles* to cause those Persons to be produc'd who were Witnesses to the Conference, whereof he had been accus'd; and the Person likewise himself who had given *Apelles* the Information : That, in short, nothing ought to be omitted, whereby the King might arrive at the certain Truth of the Matter, before he should determine to discover any thing thereof in the Assembly of the *Achaians*. The King became of *Aratus's* Mind; and reply'd, That he would not in any wise resolve hastily, but would carefully first inform himself in every particular of the Matter; and thereupon dismiss'd the Company. Not long after this Controversie (over and above that *Apelles* never produc'd any Proof of the Acculation) a chance happen'd, which greatly favour'd the Cause of *Aratus*. *Amphidamus* falling under suspicion of the *Eleans*, about the Time *Philip* was wasting their Country, they had therefore form'd a Design to secure his Person, and sending him Prisoner to the *Ætolians*. But he having some suspicion of their Purpose, withdrew himself, and escap'd first to *Olympia*; afterwards

wards being inform'd, that the King intended to remain some Days at *Dymas*, where he divided the Booty, he departed from thence, and came thither to him. *Aratus* was well pleas'd with the Escape and Arrival of *Amphidamus*; he therefore with the assurance of an innocent Man, pray'd the King to order him to be brought to his Presence, who without Controversie would be best able of all others rightly to inform him, he being a principal Person to whom the Secret was said to be imparted, adding, That there could be no doubt of his Sincerity in the Relation he should give, considering he had been compell'd now to abandon his Country on the score of the King, and had no other recourse but to him. This Request of *Aratus* was thought but reasonable; wherefore *Amphidamus* was brought to the King, by whom the untruth of the Accusation was made to appear. This prov'd the occasion that the Good will of King *Philip* grew now more and more towards *Aratus*, whom he held in very great consideration; and, on the contrary, of his change towards *Apelles*, whom he came by degrees to dislike: Howbeit, he dissembled that and many other things all he could, through the long possession of Power he had acquir'd with him.

In the mean time, *Apelles* neglects not to pursue his Design, prevailing to have *Taurion*, who was Governour for the King in *Peloponnesus*, to be remov'd from that Trust; not by any Accusation he preferr'd against him, but more artfully by praising his Abilities, and that it was for the King's better Service to have him present with him in his Wars and Expeditions; when his meaning was, to have it in his Power to provide a Governour of his own stamp in *Peloponnesus*. Thus by this new way are Praises converted into Calumnies, and Men are undone by Recommendation. A malicious refin'd Artifice, forg'd and put in practice by those who live in the Courts of Princes, the effects of Jealousie and Ambition. Furthermore, *Apelles* took all occasions to diminish the Credit of *Alexander* with the King, who had the Command of his Guards, to the end he might have it in his Power likewise to dispose of that Place, and, to conclude all in a word, bent his utmost Endeavours to introduce a total Change in the establish'd Order of Government, which had been left by *Antigonius*; tho' that Prince, while he liv'd, rul'd the Kingdom and the young King with great Wisdom, and at his Death provided as wisely for every thing. For in his Will he left his Reasons to the *Macedonians*, of the whole Method of his Conduct, and laid down Rules and Prescriptions for their future Government; appointing to
whom

whom the administration of Affairs should be committed ; and aiming by all means possible so to settle the Kingdom, as to leave no motive of Dissention or Discord among the Ministers and others, whom they should employ. Wherefore he nominated *Apelles* for one of the young King's Tutors, who at that time was jointly trusted with him in other Matters. To *Leontius* he gave the Command of the Buckler-men ; *Megalea* was made Secretary ; *Taurion* was appointed Governour of *Peloponnesus* ; and *Alexander* had the Command of the King's Guards.

But in conclusion, *Megalea* and *Leontius* being Creatures of *Apelles*, he dispos'd them as he pleas'd, and therefore set all his Arts at work to remove *Alexander* and *Taurion* from Authority, that himself might have the Power, or execute it by instruments of his own ; all which Designs, he had in great likelihood brought to pass had he not engag'd in that secret War with *Aratus*. Wherefore he came at length to feel the smart of his Folly ; and reap'd the Wages of his Ambition ; it being his Lot to suffer those Evils he was preparing for others. But we will not prosecute his Story here, but leave to another place the recital of the manner and reasons of all that beset him, it being now time to put an end to this Book.

In conclusion then, after these things were brought to pass, which we have been relating, King *Philip* return'd to *Argos*, where he spent the Winter among his Friends, sending in the mean time his Army into *Macedon*.

Finis Lib. IV.

POLYBIUS'S General History

OF THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WORLD.

VOL. II. BOOK V.

THE Year of the younger *Aratus's* Prætorship expir'd about the time of the * rising of the *Pleiades* (for * The beginning of April. so the *Achaïans* computed) who was succeeded by *Eperatus*; *Dorimachus* holding then that Trust in *Ætolia*. About the same time *Hannibal*, having openly declar'd War against the *Romans*, departed from New-Car.

Carthage, and passing the River *Eber*, enter'd on the execution of his Design, and began his march towards *Italy*. While at *Rome* *Tiberius Sempronius* was dispatch'd towards *Africk*, and *Pub. Cornelius Scipio* towards *Spain* at the Head of their Armies. Furthermore, *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy*, coming to despair by Conferences and Embassies to compose the Differences that were grown between them about the *Lower Syria*, had likewise enter'd into Hostility one with another.

As to King *Philip*, he coming to want Money and Provisions for his Army, had convoked by their Magistrates the Assembly of the *Achaians*; which according to custom was held at *Ægium*. Where perceiving *Aratus* (ill satisfy'd with the Practices of *Apelles*) had willingly resign'd his Authority; and finding *Eperatus* unqualify'd for business, and in no esteem with the People, he came at length to discern the foul play of *Apelles* and *Leontius*, which renew'd his esteem for *Aratus*, whom he now consider'd more than ever. Not long after, having prevail'd with the Magistrates, that their next Convention should be at *Sicyon*, he there had private Conference with the two *Aratus's*; and imputing all that had pass'd to the Artifices of *Apelles*, pray'd them to forget their Wrongs, and continue him in the same degree of Affection as heretofore. Whereupon coming to a new Accord, the King went to the Assembly, where

where without difficulty he obtain'd by their procurement all he desir'd towards the furtherance of his Affairs. The *Achaians* then decreed, That as soon as the Army should begin to march, fifty Talents should be advanc'd to the King, being three Months pay to the Army ; together with Ten Thousand Measures of Corn. And it was also further resolv'd, That while the King made War in Person in *Peloponnesus*, he should receive seventeen Talents Monthly. After these Acts of the Assembly they separated, and retir'd to their respective Cities.

And now, when the Army began to move from their Winter-Quarters, it was resolv'd by the King in Council, to prosecute the War likewise by Sea ; concluding it to be the only means whereby to surprize and attack the Enemy from all Quarters, by making descents and invading them, where their Towns were distant and remote from Succour ; whereby every one would be oblig'd to consult their own single Safety through the uncertainty of their Motions, and it would be in their power to carry their Arms with more ease, whithersoever they should judge it most expedient ; for they had to do at once with the *Ætolians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Eleans*. After this had been resolv'd, the King order'd the Fleet, both his own and the *Achaian* Ships to Rendezvous at the Port of *Lechæum*, where he commanded the Soldiers of the
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Macedonian Phalanx to be exerciz'd and instructed in the use of the Oar ; for the *Macedonians* apply themselves cheerfully to every thing, and learn with facility whatsoever they go about. And, in short, are no less brave and active by Sea than by Land. No People indure Hardship better, or are more patient of Labour, whether it be in their Fortifications and Encampments, or any other painful or hardy Employments incident to the Life of a Soldier. In conclusion, *Hesiod* seems to give us their Picture in his Character of the *Æacidae*.

*To whom Soft Ease and Lust less Pleasure
yield,
Than Martial Toils and Perils of the Field.*

While King *Philip* and the *Macedonians* remain'd at *Cerinth*, employ'd about their Naval Preparations ; *Apelles* who could not brook the diminution of his Credit, nor work any change in the Mind of his Master, enter'd into Compact with *Leontius* and *Megaleas* ; with whom it was agreed, that they, on their part, who were to act in the Army about the King, should labour with their best Arts secretly to thwart and obstruct him in all his Designs ; while he making his abode at *Chalcis*, would take care so to shorten and retard his Supplies of every thing from all Parts, that he should be so streighten'd on
that

that side, that the want of Necessaries to the advancing his Expeditions should be a great impediment to his Progress. After Matters had been thus concerted between them, this crafty old Courtier soon found reasons whereby to dispose the King to approve of his Voyage to *Chalcis*, whither he went ; and where he perform'd Articles so punctually with the other two, that he brought the King under such streights, that he became constrain'd to pawn his Plate to supply his Wants. As soon as the Naval Army was drawn together, and it was thought the *Macedonians* were now sufficiently exercis'd, and instructed in the management of the Oar ; the King, causing Bread and Pay to be distributed to the Soldiers, embark'd with Six Thousand *Macedonians*, and Twelve Hundred Mercenaries, and steer'd his Course towards *Patrae*, where he arriv'd the next Day after his departure from *Corinth*.

About the same time *Dorimachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor dispatch'd *Agelaus* and *Scopas* with Five Hundred new rais'd *Candiots* to the Aid of the *Eleans*. For these being under some apprehension that the King had some design on *Cyllene*, had taken Foreign Troops into their Pay, and levied others of their own Subjects, and took care to Fortify and Garrison that Place. Wherefore *Philip* composing a Body of all the Stranger-Troops, of the *Achaians*, the *Candiots* that were with

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him,

him, some *Gaulish* Horse, and Two Thousand choice *Achaian* Foot, put them into *Dyma*; both for a reserve, if occasion should require, and to strengthen and secure that Place in case the *Eleans* should have a mind to attempt any thing that way. Then sending his Dispatches to the *Messenians*, *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Scerdilaidas*, requiring them to hasten with their Ships, and meet him at *Cephalenia*, he parted from *Patræ* at a Day prefix'd, and came to *Pronos* a Port of that Island. Where observing the very great difficulty of succeeding by laying siege to that Place, the Country about it being very streight, he proceeded further, and steer'd towards the Town of *Palé*: Here finding plenty of Corn on the Ground whereby to sustain his Army, he disembark'd, and sat down before that Place, drawing his Vessels ashoar, and securing them with a good Ditch and Palissado, he sent out his *Macedonians* to Forage, while he approach'd to view the Place, whereby to make a Judgment, where he might best apply his Engines to the Walls; it being his purpose there to attend the coming of the Confederate Forces, and to become Master of that Place, thereby to deprive the *Ætolians* of the Benefit it yielded them: For whenever they had any design of making a Descent on *Peloponnesus*, or to plunder the Coast of *Epirus* or *Acarnania*, they made use of the Vessels of *Cephalenia*. Furthermore, he consider'd this Town would
make

make a safe retreat both for himself and Friends, and be of great use to them in all their Attempts on the Enemy on that side. For *Cephalenia* stands not far from the Gulf of *Corinth*, looking likewise toward the *Sicilian* Sea, and that part of the Coast of *Peloponnesus*, that lies North and North-West; and is in the Neighbourhood chiefly of the *Epirots*, *Eleans*, *Ætolians*, and *Acar-nanians*, whose Coast trends away West and South-West.

This Town then lying so commodiously for assembling the Forces of the Confederates, for annoying the Enemy, and protecting of Friends and Allies; the King was therefore very desirous to get the Island into his possession. After he had well consider'd that a great part of the Town was environ'd by the Sea, and by Rocks that were inaccessible, and that there was but one small spot of good Ground lying towards the way of *Zacynthus*, whereby they might approach, he therefore resolv'd there to apply his Engines, and make that the principal Attack. In the mean time, there join'd him fifteen Vessels sent by *Scerdilaidas*; for the Commotions that had happen'd in *Ilyria* among the Governours of those Provinces, who had fallen into dangerous Dissentions among themselves, was the cause he could not send a greater Supply. Aids came likewise from the *Epirots*, *Acar-nanians*, and *Messenians*; for after the taking

of *Phialea*, the *Messenians* readily took their share of the War.

And now, when all things were prepar'd, and the Machines for casting of Stones and Darts in a readiness, the King order'd them to approach the Walls, after he had encourag'd his own People, and had began to sap their Works. The *Macedonians* then who wrought chearfully at the Work, had soon undermin'd a great part of the Wall, strongly sustaining the Burthen with great Posts of Wood as they proceeded, whereupon the King summon'd the Town to surrender: But they having no disposition to submit, he order'd Fire to be apply'd to the Props that sustain'd the Wall, whereupon a Breach was quickly made. Then he order'd the Buckler-men, who were under the Command of *Leontius*, (dividing them into Parties) to march to the Attack, and enter the Town over the Ruines of the Breach. But *Leontius*, mindful of the Agreement he had made with *Apelles*, with-held certain forward Men, who were already advanc'd to the top of the Breach, from proceeding any further. And having before corrupted some of the principal Officers of the Army, and acting his own part but coldly, it came to pass, that after great loss of their Men, they were beaten off, when they had the fairest opportunity that could be wish'd of taking the Town. When the King therefore had consider'd the backwardness

ness of his Officers, and that the *Macedonians* had much suffer'd in this Attack, he rais'd the Siege, calling a Council to debate what was best next to be done.

While King *Philip* was thus busie here, *Lycurgus* march'd with an Army into the Territory of the *Messenians*, and *Dorimachus* with part of the *Ætolian* Forces into *Thessaly*, both with the same design of obliging the King to raise the Siege. Whereupon Ambassadors were dispatch'd to him from the *Acarnanians* and *Messenians*. Those from *Acarmania* proposing his falling on the Lands of the *Ætolians*, so to compel *Dorimachus*, by spoiling the Country, to return to their relief. But the *Messenians* pray'd present Succours; adding, That now while the *Etesian* Winds blew, they might in a Day's sail gain their passage from *Cephalenia* to the Coast of *Messenia*; where *Gorgus* the *Messenian* was of Opinion, they might endanger the surprizing of *Lycurgus*, and that the Enterprize promis'd great advantage. *Leontius*, who saw this Counsel tended to his purpose, strongly seconded the Advice, foreseeing that if the King follow'd it, he would spend the whole Summer without effect.

In short, it was true, that to *Messenia* 'twas a short and easie passage, but it was impossible to return back during the season of those Winds; so that in all probability should the King have follow'd that Advice, he would

have been shut up in *Messenia* during the season of Action, without doing any thing to the purpose, while the *Ætolians* would be at liberty to spoil at their ease, and put all to Fire and Sword in *Thessaly* and *Epirus*. This Counsel therefore was very pernicious; wherefore *Aratus* labour'd to divert the King, shewing how much better it was to fall on the *Ætolians* by Sea, and that the occasion of making Descents with their Fleet was not to be lost, now that *Dorimachus* with the *Ætolian* Forces was diverted elsewhere.

The King, who had already conceiv'd a doubtful Opinion of *Leontius*, as well through his late Behaviour in the Siege, as by other grounds of suspicion he had given him of his Fidelity, became inclin'd to follow the Counsel of *Aratus*: Whereupon he writ to *Eperatus* the *Achaian* Prætor to assemble his Troops, and march to the relief of the *Messenians*, while he himself weighing Anchor the next Day, gain'd his passage under covert of the Night from *Cephalenia* to *Leucas*; where all things having been duly prepar'd at the *Isthmus* of *Dioryctus*, he caus'd his Vessels to be drawn over, and so pass'd into the Gulf of *Ambracia*, which, as we have observ'd, comes out of the *Sicilian* Sea, and runs far up into the Country of *Ætolia*. Having perform'd this Journey somewhat before Day, he made sail towards a Town call'd *Limnæa*: Here causing the Army to take a short refreshment,
and

and to be in a readiness to march, and to take no Baggage with them but what they could not be without ; and having procur'd store of good Guides, he became exactly inform'd by them of the nature and situation of the Country and Towns, and instructed in every thing he had a mind to know.

Here *Aristophontus* the *Acarnanian* Prætor came to the King, at the head of all the Forces of that People ; for having been heretofore great Sufferers by the *Ætolians*, they came with Minds full of Revenge, and to repay them in their own Coin. Wherefore they embrac'd the occasion with great joy of being thus assisted by the *Macedonians* ; so that not only such as by the Law were oblig'd to go to the War, but those who were exempted by their Age, list'd themselves for this Expedition. The *Epirots* incited by the like Motives, were not less forward ; tho' by reason of the great extent of their Country, and the sudden arrival of King *Philip*, they were not so well able to draw their Troops together. *Dorimachus*, as was noted, had led with him the one half of the *Ætolian* Forces, leaving the other half at home, which he conceiv'd would be strength sufficient to answer any sudden occasion, and be guard enough to the Towns and the Country. And now the King, leaving the Baggage under a good Guard, departed in the close of the Evening from *Linnæa* ; and after they had

march'd about eight Miles, he caus'd the Army to halt to take some refreshment ; and after a short repast he continu'd his march, and by break of Day came to the River *Achelous*, his purpose being to surprize the Town of *Therme*.

Leontius, who had two Reasons to conclude on the probability of his Master's Success, and that all the present strength of the Enemy on that side would be too little to defend them ; for the *Macedonian* Army had surpriz'd them, and came both when and where they were least look'd for, being persuaded that *Philip* would not be so prodigal of his own proper safety, to hazard himself among such Fastnesses and Defilées as the parts about *Therme* abound with. Wherefore persisting in his treacherous purpose, he advis'd the King to incamp about the River *Achelous*, to give some repose and refreshment to the Army after so hard a Night's march ; being willing to do his best at least, that the *Ætolians* might have some small space to bethink them, and provide for their defence. But *Aratus*, who judg'd rightly of the importance of the occasion, that it was now favourable, but would not stay ; and perceiving *Leontius* openly now to withstand all wholesome Counsel, and promising Designs, urg'd *Philip* by no means to consent to the least delay, nor upon any reason whatsoever respite his March, the success whereof lay in the dispatch.

patch. Wherefore the King approving his Advice, would not be drawn to make the least stay ; but after the Army had pass'd the River, march'd away directly towards *Therme*, putting all to Fire and Sword that lay in his way. On his Left he march'd by *Stratus*, *Agrinium* and *Thestium* ; on his Right he left *Conope*, *Lyfimachia*, *Triconium* and *Phæteum* : Then he arriv'd at a Place call'd *Metapa*, standing on the entrance of a Pass or Defilée near the Lake of *Trichonium*, about eight Miles distant from *Therme*. Wherefore he took possession of that Place, which had been abandon'd by the *Ætolians*, and strengthened it with a Garrison of five hundred Men ; forecasting it might be of use to him, and be a good retreat in case he should be press'd in his march in or out of the Defilée. For the Lake is surrounded with 'mountainous and broken Ground, and inclos'd every where else with thick and unpassable Woods, leaving no access but by this streight and difficult Passage. In short the King order'd his march after this manner : In the Van of the Army march'd the Mercenaries, after them the *Illyrians* ; then the Buckler-men and the Legionaries of the *Macedonian Phalanx* ; in the Rear of all march'd the *Candiots*, the *Thracians*, and light-arm'd Troops covering the Right ; their Left being defended by the Lake.

After they had march'd a while by this Streight, they came to a Place call'd *Pamphla*, where the King plac'd a Guard, and so prosecuted his way to *Therme*, by a Passage not only broken and difficult, but barracado'd and bounded on both sides by steep Rocks, and so narrow in many places, that the Passage it self was not without danger. This Defilée, tho' at least four Miles long, *Philip* soon pass'd; the *Macedonians* marching like Soldiers in pursuit of Victory, and arriv'd near *Therme* when it was now broad Day. As soon as the Army was encamp'd, he permitted the Soldiers to plunder and ravage far and wide, and to spoil and plunder both the Town and Territory, which abounded not only in Corn, and all sorts of Provision and Military Stores, but in the Town was found great quantities of the most valuable Movables of the *Ætolians*. For over and above that their Fairs were kept, and their Feasts celebrated there, and it was the place where their Assemblies met, the *Ætolians* had lodg'd, both for their use, and the better security thereof, all they had that was most precious in *Therme*, in confidence that there was no Place more secure, it having never at any time before been visited by an Enemy, and by reason of its situation was held for the Bulwark of *Ætolia*. Furthermore, through the long Peace they had enjoy'd all the Houses in the Neighbourhood, and round about the

the Temple abounded so much the more with costly Goods and Furniture. The Army remain'd that Night in the Town, loaden with all sorts of Plunder, and in the Morning, chusing out what was most valuable and easie to be transported, they made an heap of the rest, and burnt it before the Camp. They made choice likewise of the best Arms, which they found in their Magazines, exchanging them for such of their own as were less serviceable, burning the rest to the number of above fifteen thousand Suits.

Hitherto their Proceedings were but just, and the War fairly made, but whether what they did afterwards will bear that Name, is a doubt: For calling to mind what the *Ætolians* had done at *Dium* and *Dodona*, they were provok'd not only to burn and destroy the Portico's of the Temple and all the Ornaments thereof, which were wrought with great Art and Expence. But not herewith contented, they proceeded to demolish the very Walls, and levell'd the Structure to the Ground. Furthermore, they cast down all the Statues to the number of two thousand, defacing and breaking in pieces the greatest part of those that were not consecrated to, or erected in representation of the Gods. While to these they reserv'd a Respect, engraving on certain Stones those Verses, that were afterward so much spoken of, being written by *Samus* Son of *Chrysogonus*, who had been educated

cated with the King, and began to give some proofs of his Wit :

*Dium, behold how far our angry Shafts
Have pierc'd in thy Revenge !*

In short, the Desolation was such as to strike the King himself and those about him with a kind of Terrour, while they believ'd however that they had not over acted their Revenge, for the Sacrilegious Impieties of the *Ætolians* at *Dium*. Nevertheless, we must take the liberty to be of a different Opinion, and it will not be hard to discover whether we are in the right or no, by barely enumerating some Examples of the Actions perform'd by the Ancestors of this Prince, without seeking further. When *Antigonus* had overcome *Cleomenes*, King of the *Lacedæmonians* in Battel, and compell'd him to fly the Land, he thereby became Master of *Sparta*. And albeit it was then in his Power to dispose of them, both City and People at his pleasure ; nevertheless, far from evil intreating the vanquish'd, he restor'd them to their Liberty and Privileges, and giving them other Marks of his Bounty, return'd home to his Country ; by which Magnanimity he acquir'd the Title of *Benefactor of the Lacedæmonians, and their Redeemer*, after his death ; and won a glorious Name not only among that People, but with the whole Nation of the *Greeks*.

King

King *Philip*, who began and laid the Foundation of the *Macedonian* Power, raising his Family to that pitch of Greatness, gain'd not more by his Arms than his Humanity, after he had vanquish'd the *Athenians* near *Cheronea*. For as he subdu'd those who encounter'd him in the Field by Force, so he reduc'd the whole City and People of *Athens* by his Goodness and Moderation. Nor was it his manner to give the Reigns to his Indignation in time of Hostility, nor to pursue his Enemies by Arms any longer than till he had gotten it in his Power to make them Examples of his Clemency. Thus by restoring the *Athenian* Prisoners without Ransom ; by giving decent Burial to those that were slain, and sending their Bones by *Antipater* to *Athens* ; and, in a word, by Clothing many of those that return'd home , he gave an easie Period to a most difficult Enterprize. For by this Method and Greatness of Mind , he so charm'd the proud *Athenians*, that from Enemies they became Friends, and approv'd themselves ready to serve and assist him on all occasions.

What shall we say of *Alexander* afterward ? 'Tis true, his Indignation so far transported him against the *Thebans*, that he raz'd their City, and sold the Inhabitants by Out-cry, yet he nevertheless forgot not what was due to the Gods ; expressly forbidding, that on no score whatever they should violate either Temple or any Sacred Thing. When he pass'd
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into *Asia*, to revenge the Outrages done by the *Persians* against the *Greeks*; he did his utmost, 'tis true, against the People, and was willing to render their Punishment proportion'd to their Fault; but still he spar'd the Temples, and every thing that was dedicated to the Gods. Albeit the *Persians*, in their Invasion of *Greece*, had therein principally exercis'd their Rage. *Philip* then ought to have practis'd according to these excellent Examples, whereby to give proof, that he did not succeed these his glorious Ancestors less in Magnanimity, than in State and Authority. But, in short, he labour'd all his Life long, to give proofs of his being descended from *Philip* and *Alexander*, but too little care to imitate their Vertues. Wherefore as his Actions had no resemblance with those of his Predecessors, so his Reputation fell likewise short of that which they had acquir'd. And it was visible by what he did at that time; for his Indignation against the *Ætolians* wrought him to act the same Outrages he would be thought to punish; and, as the Saying is, to remedy one Evil with another; but he believ'd himself in the right, when he did no more than repay them measure for measure: And while he himself incurr'd the same Guilt, to revenge the Sacrileges of *Dorimachus* and *Scopas*, dream'd not that he should fall under the same Imputation, and share the like Infamy. For to do our utmost to deprive

prive an Enemy of his Fortresses,, Towns and Ports ; and, in short, of all that can be rightfully call'd their own ; and even to pursue to destruction both them and theirs, to compass Success to our Enterprizes, is not accounted Criminal, or against the Law of Arms, which compel to such Violences. But to act such Parts as are neither profitable to our selves, nor a weakning to the Enemy ; such as casting down and defacing of Statues, destroying of Temples, and spoiling the Ornaments ; Who can reckon this other than Rage, and the effect of Madness? In a word, it is the Office of a Man of Honour, tho' in Hostility with the vilest Enemy, to pursue them no further than the Correction of their Faults , and the Reparation of the Injuries they have sustain'd. To distinguish between the Innocent and the Guilty, and not involve them in the same Punishment ; and when he cannot discriminate between them, he ought to preserve the Guilty for the sake of the Innocent. For 'tis the Property of a Tyrant to be ever acting Mischief, and to Reign by Violence ; to hate his Subjects out of Fear, and be detested by them. While 'tis the Character of a King, to be Beneficent to all Mankind, to acquire the Love of his Subjects by Clemency and Acts of Grace, and so to manage their Minds, that he shall not more desire to reign, than they to be govern'd.

But

But *Philip* had no mind to walk by these wholesom Maxims ; and if we reflect how the *Ætolians* were likely to have understood it, in case he had pursu'd a less violent course, and not profan'd their Temples, and left his other Excesses unacted ; for my own part I take for granted, they would have been compell'd to consider him with Veneration, as a Prince abounding in Honour and Goodness ; and would themselves have been seiz'd with remorse, for their own Inhumanities at *Dium* and *Dodona* ; while they knew it was in his power to have dealt them the like usage, but was restrain'd by Motives of Clemency and Magnanimity. Most certain it is, I say, that the *Ætolians* would have been driven to blush at their own Proceeding, while they should behold King *Philip*, out of a truly generous and Kingly Spirit, so mindful of his Duty towards the Gods, while he was wreaking his Revenge on his Enemies. For what can be more Noble than to vanquish our Foes by Virtue and Moderation ! And how much more glorious and safe, than to subdue them by Arms ! Victory acquir'd by Force, compels Obedience ; but when 'tis gain'd by Gentleness and Humanity, it attracts it. The one reduces not the stubborn Mind but at the cost of mighty Evils and grievous Calamities, while the other leads us, and engages our Consent. Furthermore, where Victory is won by Arms, the Soldier hath his part of the Merit ;

rit ; but the other way the Prince reaps all the Glory.

But it may be objected, That this Errour was not entirely due to *Philip*, who was then but young, but ought principally to be ascrib'd to the Counsels of those about him ; of which number were *Aratus* and *Demetrius* the *Pha-rian* : But it will not be hard to determine which of those two was likeliest to give such Advice, albeit he had not been then present at Council : For it will be no-where found in the whole Life of *Aratus*, that he ever acted any thing temerariouſly , and without ſolid Deliberation ; while, on the contrary, *Demetrius* never did any thing but with precipitation. And we ſhall ſhew, and plainly evidence by their Behaviour in the like Occurrences, the difference of the Minds and Manners of theſe two Men, as occaſion ſhall be given us.

But to return to our Story: *Philip* taking with him all that could conveniently be carry'd, march'd from *Therme* by the way he came. The Booty he order'd to go in the Van, guarded by his heavy-arm'd Troops: The Reer guard was assign'd to the *Acarnanians* and mercenary Strangers, being himſelf extreamly ſolicitous to get his paſſage through the *Streights* with what expedition he could, thereby to prevent the *Ætolians*, who in confidence of the Strength of thoſe Faſtneſſes, were likely enough to attempt their Reer in their

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march: Which, in short, came to pass; for assembling to the number of about three thousand Men, under the leading of *Alexander the Trichonian*, they let the Van of the Army march without approaching, concealing themselves while the *Macedonians* kept the open Field: But as soon as the Reer began to move, they march'd into *Therme*, and fell on and charg'd them roundly, insomuch that they put their Reer-Ranks into great disorder; which the *Ætolians* perceiving, and favour'd by the advantage of Ground, press'd them so much the more, killing many. But *Philip* in foresight of what might happen, had order'd a Detachment of *Illyrians*, and some of his best Buckler-men, to be lodg'd in ambush under colour of a rising Ground; who unexpectedly appearing, fell on the Enemy, who had now charg'd beyond them, killing above a hundred of them, and taking as many Prisoners; the rest sav'd themselves by flight among the Rocks and Woods.

After this repulse, those who march'd in the Reer of the Army, set fire to *Pamphion*; and having pass'd the Strait, join'd the *Macedonians* again. *Philip* in the mean time encamping near *Metapa*, to attend their coming up; and the next Day, after he had order'd the Place to be demolish'd, he pursu'd his march, and came and encamp'd near a Town call'd *Acras*; from whence departing the next day, he pillag'd the Country all along as he went till he came to *Conope*, where he remain'd a day to refresh his Army;

my; and then continu'd his march'd towards *Stratus*, along the River *Achelous*; where encamping out of shot of their Works, on an Eminence that commands the Town, he from thence vex'd and molested the Inhabitants. But coming to understand that the Enemy had strengthen'd the Garrison with a Recruit of Three Thousand *Ætolians*, and Five Hundred *Candiots*; and none daring to adventure out against him, he decamp'd and march'd to *Limnæa*, purposing from thence to embark. Nevertheless, as soon as the Reer of the Army began to move, and was gotten some distance past the Town, a Party of *Ætolian* Horse made a Sally, and charg'd them; these being back'd by the *Candiots*, and more *Ætolians* that came out to sustain them, compell'd those in the Reer-guard to face about and make head. At first it was an equal Dispute; but as soon as the *Illyrians* came in to back the Mercenaries, the *Ætolians* began to give Ground, and the Horse betook them to flight, and were pursu'd to the very Gates of the Town, and at least a Hundred of them kill'd on the spot. After this Repulse, those of the Town adventur'd no more out; and the Reer of the Army march'd without molestation, coming safe to the Camp, and to their Vessels.

Here King *Philip* having commodiously Encamp'd the Army, sacrific'd to the Gods, and did other Acts of Devotion for the good success of that Expedition, and at the same time gave his Officers a Royal Entertainment.

In short, his Attempt was look'd on by all Men to have been very daring, to adventure as he did among those dangerous and untravel'd places, which no Army had ever done before. Nevertheless, he succeeded in his Enterprize, marching and returning in safety, after he had thoroughly executed what he had design'd. Wherefore to express his Joy, he made a solemn Feast for his Officers; where *Megaleas* and *Leontius*, who had been much disappointed, and look'd with an evil Eye on the good Fortune of their Master, having, as we have heard, conspired with *Apelles* to give him all the Impediments they should be able, but could by no means prevent the good Fortune which attended his Arms, were however present; tho' their Behaviour there express'd so much distaste, that it was not unobserv'd by the King, and those about him; who thereby collected, that they had different Sentiments from the rest, touching the prosperity of his Affairs. And now, when all were well warm'd with Wine, *Megaleas* and *Leontius* being oblig'd to do as others did, came at length more openly to manifest their Minds; for being now drunk, they went from place to place in search of *Aratus*; and meeting him as he was returning from the Feast, they first attack'd him with rude Language, and afterwards came to offer violence. Whereupon a Tumult arose, and the Soldiers came about them from all Quarters, insomuch as the whole

whole Camp was in disorder. The King, upon notice hereof, immediately sent to appease the Tumult, and to have an account how it happen'd: Where after *Aratus* had reported to him how every thing had pass'd, and had vouch'd it by the Testimony of such as were present, he retir'd to his Tent. *Leontius*, having in the mean time conceal'd himself in the Crowd, privately withdrew.

The King being now fully inform'd of every thing, commanded *Megaleas* and *Crinon* to be brought before him, whom he very severely reprov'd: But they were not only not humbled and made sensible of their Fault, but adding Insolence to their Error, plainly told the King, That they should not be drawn to change their Mind, till they had been thoroughly reveng'd on *Aratus*. Whereupon the King, greatly mov'd at this their Behaviour, immediately condemn'd them in a Fine of twenty Talents each, and put them under an Arrest; and sending the next Day for *Aratus*, express'd his sense of the violence which had been offer'd him, giving him assurance of his Protection, and that he would take due care to do him right.

Leontius being inform'd how the King had proceeded with *Megaleas*, came boldly to him, accompanied with a Party of his Buckler-men, thinking thereby to put him into some apprehension, he being yet but young, and to awe him into another Resolution touching the

Offenders; wherefore he boldly demanded of him, who it was that had presum'd to lay hands on *Megaleas*, and cast him into Prison? But when the King firmly reply'd, and with an Assurance worthy of Himself, That whatsoever had been done, was by his express Command, *Leontius* was confounded, and betwixt Grief and Indignation retir'd from his Presence.

Here *Philip* embark'd, and arriv'd with his Fleet soon after at *Leucas*; where when he had directed those who had the charge of dividing the Booty to hasten the distribution thereof: He assembled his Council, and fell to debate about the Affairs of *Megaleas*; where *Aratus* charg'd him, and the rest of that Faction, with all those criminal Practices we have noted. He farther laid to their charge the Murther that had been committed after the departure of *Antigonus*, and opened the whole Matter of the Conspiracy of *Apelles*, shewing in what manner they had obstructed the King's Business in the siege of *Palæa*. And forasmuch as he urg'd nothing against them that was not vouch'd by solid Reasons, and made evident by competent Witnesses; *Megaleas* and his Complices became so hard set, that they had nothing to say in their defence; wherefore they were with one Voice found Guilty. *Crinon* continu'd a Prisoner; but *Leontius* became Caution for *Megaleas*, binding himself for the payment of the Fine the King

King had laid on him. This was the success of the treasonable Conspiracy of *Apelles* and his Adherents, which had quite another issue than they look'd for, having promis'd to themselves that they should oblige *Aratus* to retire from the King out of fear; and that after they had remov'd the rest of his Servants, who had any Trust about him, they should then Reign alone, and Rule all as they list; but their Project fail'd them.

About the same time *Lycurgus* return'd from *Messina* and *Lacedæmon*, having done nothing worth recording: Afterwards, on a second Expedition, he seiz'd on *Tegæa*; where the Inhabitants retiring into the Citadel, he resolv'd to besiege it. But after many fruitless Attempts, despairing of Success, he was oblig'd to march back to *Sparta*. In the mean while the *Eleans* made perpetual Inroads on the Lands of *Dymas*, where the Horse of that Place, which march'd out to succour the Country, were drawn into an Ambush, and defeated with little difficulty. Some *Gauls* were kill'd on the place, and certain of the Inhabitants made Prisoners; among whom were *Polymedes* of *Ægium*, and *Agessipolis* and *Megacles* of *Dymas*.

Dorimachus also took the Field with the *Ætolian* Troops, in confidence, as hath been noted, that he should be able to ravage *Thesjaly*, and thereby oblige the King to rise from before *Palæa*: But *Chrysogonus* and *Patraeus*

prevented them, being there ready to receive them with an Army - which oblig'd *Dorimachus* to keep the Mountains, and not to adventure into the Plain Country. Who, shortly after, being inform'd that the *Macedonians* had invaded *Ætolia*, march'd out of *Thessaly*, and hasten'd to the relief of his Country; but before he arriv'd the King was ret'd. Thus *Dorimachus* coming always too late, made many vain Expeditions.

In the mean time King *Philip* having embark'd his Troops at *Leucas*, and plunder'd the Coast of *Hyanthes* in his way, arriv'd with his Fleet at *Corinth*, where landing his Army, and ordering the Vessels to be drawn over to the Port of *Lechæum*; he dispatch'd his Letters to all the Confederate Towns of *Peloponnesus*, appointing them a Day when they were to Rendezvous their Troops at *Tegæa*. And making but short stay at *Corinth*, he march'd his Army by the way of *Argos*, and came the next Day to *Tegæa*; where joining such of the *Achaian* Horse as were there ready, he proceeded, marching over the Mountains with design to fall by surprize on the Territory of the *Lacedæmonians*. And after four Days march through a Desert Country, he gain'd the tops of those Eminences that lie over-against, and give a prospect of the City of *Sparta*, and leaving *Menelaïum* on his right, came close by *Amycla*.

The *Lacedæmonians* beholding his march from the Town were greatly alarm'd, and to seek what to do. For the news of the plundering of *Therme*, and the many gallant Actions perform'd by King *Philip* in his *Ætolian* Expedition, gave them both present Terror, and future Caution. There was indeed a Rumour among them, as if *Lycurgus* should be sent to the Succour of the *Ætolians*: But no Body could suspect that King *Philip* would be able to compass such a march in so short a space, while they consider'd him too of an Age, more to be contemn'd than fear'd. Wherefore seeing now Matters to succeed so contrary to their Expectations; it was no wonder they became surpriz'd. But in a word, his Deliberations and their Effects so far surpass'd the expectation of his Age, that his Enemies every where were held in fear and suspension. For marching out of the heart of *Ætolia*, he cross'd the Gulf of *Ambracia*, and gain'd the Port of *Leucas* in the space of one Night; where remaining but two Days only, he parted early the third, and plundering in the way all the Coast of *Ætolia*, he arriv'd safely at *Lechæum*. From thence continuing his march, he came in seven Days near *Menelaïum*, gaining the Hills that give a view of the City of *Sparta*. So that whosoever shall compute the expedition of his Motions, would not be able without difficulty to believe what they saw; which was the subject

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of the *Lacedæmonians* astonishment, who knew neither what to do or resolve.

The King's first Encampment was near *Amyclæ*, a Town distant from *Sparta* about four Miles, surpassing all others in excellent Fruit and delightful Gardens; where there is a Temple of *Apollo*, inferiour to none in the whole Country of *Laconia*, both for Dignity and Riches. The next Day plundering all the *Low-Country* as he march'd, he came to a Place call'd *Pyrrhus-Castle*; and after doing all the spoil he could for two Days together in that Neighbourhood, he came and encamp'd near *Carnium*. From thence he led the Army to *Asina*, where he made a fruitless attempt to become Master of that Place. Wherefore he decamp'd, and ravag'd all the Country as far as *Tenarus* which lies toward the Sea of *Candia*, putting all to Fire and Sword. Then turning off, he took his march by the way that leads to the Port of the *Lacedæmonians* call'd *Gythium*, where there is a good Haven: Which Place is likewise distant from *Sparta* about four Miles. But soon leaving *Gythium* on his right, he came and encamp'd near *Elia*, the best and most spacious Country of the whole *Spartan* Territory. From thence, sending out Parties, he spread War and Depredation far and wide, making grievous spoil on the Corn and Fruits of the Country. He plunder'd also *Acra* and *Leuca*, and the Lands of *Bæara*.

In the mean while the *Messenians*, having receiv'd King *Philip's* Letters, whereby they were enjoyn'd to take the Field with their Troops; forthwith compos'd a Body of two Thousand chosen Foot and Two Hundred Horse; and came short of none of the Confederates in their readiness and good Will. But forasmuch as it was not possible for them, by reason of their remote distance, to comply punctually with the day the Troops were to assemble at *Tegæa*, they remain'd a while in suspense, uncertain how to proceed. Howbeit, doubting lest their delay should be interpreted an effect of their former backwardness, they came to a determination to march, and to take their way by *Laconia*, through the Territory of the *Argians*, and to joyn the King's Forces with what speed they might. Accordingly they took the Field, and arriving near *Glympia*, a Fortrefs on the Borders of the *Argians* and *Lacedæmonians*, it chanc'd that they did not encamp with that circumspection which they ought, having neither Retrenchment or Pallisade; nor was the place where they Encamp'd well chosen; but in confidence of the good Will of the Inhabitants, they quarter'd themselves under the Walls of the place. *Lycurgus* coming to understand the *Messenians* were arriv'd, took with him his Mercenaries, and a small Party of *Lacedæmonians*, and march'd to attack them; and coming upon them about the close of the Evening,

vening, boldly attempted their Camp. And now, tho' the *Messenians* had acted otherwise imprudently in every thing, and had march'd with too small a Force, and destitute of Officers in whose Judgment and Abilities they might rely; nevertheless, their behaviour in this Rencontre was without blame, considering the surprize. For as soon as they receiv'd notice of the arrival of *Lycurgus*, leaving all their Lumber, and whatever might trouble them behind, they retir'd to a certain Fortress, so that the Enemy got nothing but their Baggage and a few Horses; of their Foot they lost not a Man, and of their Horse not above eight or nine, who fell on the spot. After this Defeat the *Messenians* return'd home by the way of *Argos*; and *Lycurgus* exalted with his Success march'd back to *Sparta*, where he fell to making of new Levies, and to deliberate with his Friends how to proceed so as to oblige *Philip* to come to a Battel before he left *Laconia*. But the King nevertheless march'd from *Elia* plundering and ravaging the Country all along in his way, and four Days after return'd to *Amycla* with his Army in view of the Enemy.

As soon as *Lycurgus* had given the necessary Orders to his Friends and Officers touching the Battel they had resolv'd on, he commanded the Troops to draw out of the Town, consisting of about Two Thousand Men, taking Possession of all the nearest Posts to *Menelaum*;

melaium ; leaving Instructions with those that were appointed to remain within the Town, to have a special regard to a Signal that he would give them ; which, as soon as they saw, they should issue out of the Town with all expedition, and by as many ways as they could, and draw up on a certain Ground where the River ran nearest to the Town.

In this posture stood Matters between the two Armies : But lest our Relation should seem obscure through want of due light in the nature and situation of Places about which we treat, we shall therefore do our best to be as clear in that, as in our accounts of matters of fact, which shall be our manner throughout our whole Work. Some Places which are unknown, we shall describe by comparing them with others that are known, distinguishing them by Marks and Notes of common Observation : For through want of a right Information herein, many and great Errors have been committed in the Conduct of Enterprizes both by Sea and Land. But we shall labour our utmost, that the Readers of our History may be instructed as well in the manner as matter of Occurrences ; and that nothing may be left unsaid touching the Description of Towns and Countries, and principally in Military Adventures, wherein the better to explain our Mind, we shall have recourse sometimes to some certain Port of the Sea, sometimes to an Island, sometimes to
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some conspicuous Temple, Promontory, or Mountain, or the Name of some Country; and, in short, the divers Regions of the Heavens, as being things generally known, and familiar to Mankind. 'Tis by this Method then, I say, that we hope to be able to lead the Reader to a just Conception of Places and Situations, to him otherwise unknown.

To give a general description then of the City of *Sparta*, 'tis observable, that in figure it is round; it stands on a plain or bottom, where there rises here and there certain Hills or Eminences; and some places are waste and barren. On the West-side runs the River *Eurotas*, which is deep and unfordable at certain Seasons of the Year. The Mountains of *Menelium* are on the other side of the River, regarding the North-East part of the Town; these being almost inaccessible and exceeding high, command all the space of Ground lying between the *Eurotas* and the Town; which space, in a word, taking likewise the River into the account, which runs by the foot of the Hills, is not above a Furlong and an half wide. Now, by this way King *Philip* was oblig'd to pass in his return from his Expedition, having on his left the Town, and the *Lacedæmonians* drawn up in Battalia, and on his right the River, and the Troops of *Lycurgus* posted on the skirts of the Hills. Furthermore, the *Lacedæmonians* having stop'd the course of the
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River, had brought all that space of Ground, we mention'd, under Water ; so that it became impossible for their Foot, much less their Horse, to march. Wherefore the King's Army had no other way to go, but in *desfilée* along the foot of the Mountains ; by which means ; neither Party could sustain or relieve the other ; and the whole Army would run a mighty hazard, marching so expos'd to the continual shot of the Enemy. *Philip* therefore well weighing the Peril, resolv'd that nothing could be better first done, than to attempt *Lycurgus*, and endeavour to beat him from his Post. Wherefore taking with him his Mercenaries and Buckler-men, which were sustain'd by the *Illyrians*, he pass'd the River, and march'd directly towards the Hills. *Lycurgus*, who could not but understand the King's purpose, put himself in a posture to receive him ; and at the same time gave Signal to those within the Town ; who immediately sall'y'd out, and drew up as they had been order'd, placing the Horse on their right. When *Philip* was advanc'd somewhat near to *Lycurgus*, he order'd the Mercenaries to march to the Attack ; and so began the Battel. For a while the *Lacedæmonians*, having the advantage both in their Arms and the Ground, had also the better in the Dispute : But as soon as the Buckler-men advanc'd to sustain the others, and that *Philip* himself with the *Illyrians* fell on their Flank, the

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Mercenaries on the coming up of this Relief took new Courage, and engag'd with so much Bravery, that *Lycurgus* was worsted, and betook himself to flight, leaving about an Hundred of his Men dead on the place, and a greater number that were taken Prisoners. Many got into the Town; and *Lycurgus* himself, favour'd by the coming on of the Night, got likewise through by-ways into *Sparta*. Whereupon *Philip*, having now the Mountains to friend, where he plac'd the *Illyrians* on the Guard, return'd himself with the Buckler-men and Mercenaries to the gross of the Army.

At the same time *Aratus* came from *Amyclæ* with the Phalanx; on whose approach to the Town, *Philip* repass'd the River to countenance his march, posting himself with the Buckler-men and light-arm'd Troops, to cover those also who carry'd heavy Arms during their passage by that streight piece of Ground along by the foot of the Hills. In the mean time, those who were drawn up nearest the Town attack'd the Horse, who were posted to cover the march of the rest. In which occasion the Dispute was very obstinate, where the Buckler-men perform'd excellent Service. But in conclusion, the King had the better here likewise; and pursuing the Enemies Horse to the Gates of the City, pass'd the River without difficulty, and joyn'd the Phalanx. But Night now approaching, he found it be-
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hoveful to hasten his Retreat, and was oblig'd to Encamp on a piece of Ground, juſt without the Streight or Defilée.

It ſo chanc'd, that the Guides themſelves had pitch'd on that very place where-in to Encamp, being ſo advantageous a Spot, that whoſoever would make Incurſions into *Laccœnia*, 'tis impoſſible to chooſe a more commodious Poſt: For it lies in the way to *Tegæa*, and the Inland parts of the Country on the Banks of the River commanding the entrance of the Defilée, diſtant about a quarter of a Mile from *Sparta*, that ſide which looks toward the Town being cover'd by the Brow of an inacceſſible Hill. It lies, I ſay, juſt under the Rocks and Precipices thereof, being a level piece of Ground, plentifully ſupply'd with Water, inſomuch as it ſeems deſtin'd by Nature to enſure to the Soldier a ſafe entrance and retreat; where being once Encamp'd; and Maſters of the Eminence, they may with aſſurance ſay, they are both ſafe and poſſeſſ'd of a moſt pleaſant Poſt, which commands the Paſſage in and out of the Streight.

Here *Philip*, having paſs'd the Night without any Alarm, in the Morning caus'd his Baggage firſt to march; and leading the Army into the Plains, he there drew up in Battalia, in view of the City of *Sparta*, where he remain'd a while, to ſee if the Enemy were diſpos'd to further Action: Then making a ſhort turn, took his way toward *Tegæa*; and

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coming to the Ground where the Battel had been heretofore fought between *Antigonus* and *Cleomenes*, he there Encamp'd. And the next Day after he had well observ'd every thing, and sacrific'd on the top of either Mountain, the one being call'd *Olympia*, the other *Eva*, securing his Rear-guard, he prosecuted his march to *Tegæa*, where he commanded the Booty to be sold, and then return'd by *Argos* to *Corinth* with the whole Army. There he was met by Ambassadors from *Rhodes* and *Chios*, who were dispatch'd to him on the subject of a Pacification. The King gave them Audience, and made semblance of an Inclination to a Peace with the *Ætolians*, with whom he wish'd them to conferr and deliberate by what means it might be brought to pass : So dismissing the Ambassadors, he went to *Leckæum*, purposing to Embark from thence, in order to a Descent on the Lands of the *Phocians*, where he had meditated some Enterprize of great importance.

About this time *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolomy*, being not yet totally out of hopes of giving some apprehension to King *Philip*, endeavour'd (so to cover their old Crimes) to foment a murmuring among the Bucklermen and the King's Guards (and they themselves instill'd the like seditious Opinions) that they who were first in all Hazards, and secur'd the rest of the Army from Danger, were not treated according to their Merit; and were
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not only not consider'd and distinguish'd by any particular Reward for their Service ; but even such Booty as fell into their hands was taken from them, notwithstanding the constant custom in the like cases to the contrary. After this manner they had so inflam'd them, that assembling in Parties, they attempted and rifled the Quarters of the King's chief Friends and Favourites ; insomuch that their insolence grew to that height, that they forbore not at length the King's own Lodgings, breaking the Roof thereof.

This Mutiny spread so great Terror and Disturbance about the City, that the King having notice thereof, came with all possible expedition from *Lechæum* ; and immediately assembling the *Macedonians*, partly by Remonstrances, partly by Menaces, appeas'd the Tumult. But forasmuch as on such occasions Men are of divers Minds, some advising to find out and seize on the Authors of the Sedition to make them Examples ; others, that it were better to reduce things to Order, and pacifie the Tumult without any further Process or Inquisition ; wherefore the King, hiding his Purpose for the present, and seeming well satisfy'd with what he had already done, exhorted them only to Union and better Obedience, and so dismiss'd the Assembly. Not but that he was well aware who had been the prime Movers and Instigators of the Sedition, but thought it Wisdom at that time to

seem less knowing than he was. But these flirs were soon over, and King *Philip's Phocian* Expedition likewise at that time for certain Reasons respited.

And now *Leontius*, coming to perceive the vanity of his guilty Projects, and the dangerous state he had contracted, had recourse to *Apelles*, soliciting his return from *Chalcis*, and giving him frequent intimations of the many difficulties he met with ; and that the King grew into greater dislike of him in every thing. Now 'tis to be noted, That during *Apelles* residence at *Chalcis*, his Deportment was more like a Sovereign Prince than a Subject, governing all things with an Arbitrary Authority, and labouring to be thought singular in his Sufficiency and Power, and that the King acted nothing but by his Counsels ; by which means he disposed absolutely of every thing. Wherefore all who were in the Magistracy, and had charge of the Affairs in *Macedon* and *Thessaly* ever apply'd to him, and took his directions in all their Consultations. And in short, when at any time any of the *Greek* Towns had occasion to publish any new Laws or Ordinances, or to confer Honours or Preferments, there was hardly any mention made of the King, but of *Apelles*.

Wherefore when *Philip* came to be rightly inform'd of all these things, he grew justly sensible of the Outrage that had been done him : Nor was *Aratus* wanting to warm his

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Indignation ; howbeit, he carry'd his Resentments so close, that none were privy to his Purpose, or knew any thing of his Mind. *Apelles* therefore, far from suspecting the least coldness from the King, was persuaded, that he should be receiv'd at Court, after his wonted manner, and soon dispose of the King's Mind at his pleasure, wherefore he left *Chalcois* to come to the Aid of *Leontius*. And now as he drew near to *Corinth*, *Ptolomy*, *Leontius* and *Megaleas*, who commanded the Bucklermen, and had prime Authority in the Army, so wrought that the Flower of the King's Troops went out to meet and accompany him. Insomuch, that what with Officers and Soldiers they compos'd a pompous Train, with which he made his entrance into the Town, and so went directly to wait on the King. But while he attempted (according to his manner heretofore) to enter into the Presence, an Officer, who had receiv'd Orders to that effect, with held him, telling him, that he must wait, for that the King was busie. This was a sore rebuke to *Apelles*, who stood astonish'd without any Reply, and after he had attended a while, retir'd to his Lodgings, accompany'd only with his own Domesticks ; all the rest having already deserted him. Behold the uncertain state of mortal Greatness, where in one and the same Moment Men are rais'd to highest Promotions, and sunk to the lowest ebb of Fortune ;

and this principally in the Courts of Princes, where like Counters their Value rises and falls according to the place they are set in; for those who follow the Court are Great and Little at the Pleasure of their Master, who holds their Fortune in his keeping.

As soon as *Megaleas* (contrary to his hopes) came to understand there was no prospect of safety by the Mediation of *Apelles*, he began to see his danger nearer, and bethought him of seeking security by flight. For, in short, tho' it may be said, that after this *Apelles* was suffer'd at Court, and appear'd in ordinary Deliberations, yet he was never after admitted to the King's Cabinet, where Matters of weight were principally handled. Some time after the King came to resolve to Embark at *Lechæum*, to pursue his *Phocian* Design, whereof he had so long meditated, taking *Apelles* with him; but that Affair not succeeding, he steer'd another course, and came to *Elatea*.

Megaleas then, without any consideration of *Leontius*, who was his Surety in the sum of Twenty Talents, made his Escape, and got into *Athens*; but the Government of that Place not permitting his stay there, he went from thence to *Thebes*. In the mean time, the King with the Court departing from *Cirrha*, sail'd to *Sicyon*, where the Magistrates came out to receive him, and invited him to a Palace, prepar'd to entertain him, which he
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thankfully excus'd, making choice of the House of *Aratus*, with whom he spent whole Days in Deliberations about his Affairs. During his abode there he dispatch'd *Apelles* to *Corinth*; and as soon as he came to know of the flight of *Megaleas*, he sent *Taurion* to *Triphalia* at the head of his Buckler-men, whose chief Officer was *Leontius*, seeming to have some extraordinary occasion of their Service; who were no sooner departed, when he caus'd *Leontius* to be secur'd for the payment of the Twenty Talents wherein he stood bound. But the Buckler-men coming to hear thereof, by a Messenger which *Leontius* had dispatch'd, sent their request to the King: praying him, that if *Leontius* Commitment was on any other account than that of his Surety-ship, that he would be pleas'd not to determine any thing against him, during their absence; and that they should interpret any Sentence in his prejudice, as an Injury done to them, and should accordingly so resent it; (it having been a Custom among the *Macedonians* to use that liberty with their Kings) that in case *Leontius* was imprison'd to secure the payment of the Money due on account of *Megaleas*, they would readily contribute towards satisfying that Debt. But this their Affection shown to *Leontius* prov'd unseasonable, and was so ill taken by the King, that it became the occasion of his Death sooner than he intended.

While these Matters were under agitation, the Ambassadors from *Rhodes* and *Chios* returned from *Athens*, bringing with them Propositions for a Collection of Arms for thirty Days, reporting that the *Ætolians* were very inclinable to a Treaty, and that they had appointed a Day for their assembling at *Chium*, where they pray'd the King to give them a meeting, promising all the Advances possible on their part towards a Pacification.

After the King had ratify'd the Treaty of Truce, he sent his Dispatches to the Confederates, requiring them to send their respective Deputies to *Patrae*, there to treat about the Peace with the *Ætolians*; then setting sail from *Lechæum*, he came the next Day to *Patrae*. About the same time Letters were sent him out of *Phocia*, that had been writ by *Megaleas* to the *Ætolians*, whereby he incited them vigorously to prosecute the War, for that King *Philip*, through want of Provisions and Stores of War, was at the point of Despair. Furthermore, the said Letters contained very reproachful and injurious Reflections on the King, which plainly evidenc'd the Men's Hatred to him. Upon reading these Letters, the King became firmly assur'd, that *Apelles* was at the bottom, and Author of all these Evils; wherefore he order'd him to be taken into Custody, and forthwith brought to *Corinth*, together with his Son, and a Youth his Favourite. He also dispatch'd *Alexander* to

to *Thebes*, in pursuit of *Megaleas*, ordering that he should be conven'd before the Magistrates, in order to the payment of the Debt, for which security had been given. This Commission *Alexander* executed with diligence. But *Megaleas* prevented him by killing himself, not being willing to adventure a Tryal. At the same time *Apelles* was put to death, together with his Son and Favourite. Thus perish'd the Conspirators, whose end was no other than what was due to their manner of Life past, and principally their practices against *Aratus*.

As to the *Ætolians*, they were sincerely dispos'd to Peace, being grown weary of the War, all their Projects having succeeded quite otherwise than they had propos'd; for they expected to have to do with a Prince raw and unfit to govern, King *Philip* being not arriv'd at an Age, as they thought, of Conduct and Experience, while in the mean time they found him a ripe and enterprizing Leader, able and qualify'd both for Counsel and Execution; and the weak and unwise Part seem'd to be turn'd on themselves, as well with respect to the Administration of their particular Affairs, as the Conduct of the War in general. But when they came to hear of the Mutiny of the Buckler-men, and the Death of *Leontius* and *Apelles*, hoping these Troubles would beget Distractions at Court, they therefore respite'd their meeting at *Rhium*, which they did from time

to time ; while King *Philip*, who had a hopeful prospect of the issue of the War, and was indeed come to give all the impediment he could to the Treaty of Peace, was glad of the occasion they gave him. Wherefore, after he had exhorted and animated the Confederates to the prosecution of the War, he weigh'd Anchor again, and sail'd back to *Corinth*. Then sending his *Macedonians* to their Winter-Quarters in their own Country, they took their march home through *Thessaly*, while he himself, after his departure from *Cenchrea*, coasting it along the *Attic* Shoar, came by the *Euripus* to *Demetrias*, where *Ptolomy*, the only remaining Conspirator in the Treason of *Apelles*, was sentenc'd by the *Macedonians*, and accordingly put to death.

It was about this time that *Hannibal*, having gain'd his Passage into *Italy*, was encamp'd on the Banks of the *Po*, in view of the *Roman* Army ; that *Antiochus*, having reduc'd to his Dominion a great part of *Syria*, had put his Army into Garrisons ; and that *Lycurgus*, fearing ill-dealing from the *Ephori*, had withdrawn and retir'd into *Ætolia* : For he had been wrongfully accus'd to them, as if he had meditated some Innovation in the Government. Whereupon assembling in the Night, they came and beset his House ; but he having timely notice of their Purposes, had with his Domesticks made his escape.

The King being now return'd home about the beginning of Winter, the *Achaian* Troops holding *Eperatas* the Prætor in contempt, and the mercenary Strangers in like manner considering him as a Man of no worth, insomuch that they came to despise his Authority, refusing to pay him Obedience; by which means it came to pass, that they wanted Troops to guard and defend their Frontiers.

This became a motive to *Pyrrhias*, (whom the *Ætolians* had sent to command the *Elean* Forces) to compose an Army consisting of fourteen hundred *Ætolians*, about a thousand Mercenaries and Militia of the Town, and two hundred Horse, making in all about three thousand Men; and with these he did not only waste the Territory of *Dymas* and *Pharæ*, but proceeded to *Patræ*; and taking possession of the Mountain *Parackaicus* which commanded the Town, he plunder'd and put to Fire and Sword all the Country that lies in the way to *Rhium* and *Ægium*; insomuch that those Towns of *Achaia* which labour'd under these Evils, and saw no hopes of redress, became constrain'd to submit to lie under Contribution: For the Soldiers being in Arrear of their Pay, refus'd to receive Orders, when at any time they were commanded to march on any Expedition for the relief of the Country. Whereupon the Affairs of the *Achaians* grew from bad to worse, their mercenary Troops daily deserting the Service: All which Calamities

mities were, in a word, to be ascrib'd to the Insufficiency of *Eperatus* the Prætor. Matters stood in this posture then in *Achaia* when *Eperatus*'s Authority expir'd, who was succeeded, early in the Summer, by *Aratus* the Elder.

Hitherto we have spoken of the Affairs of *Europe* only ; now pursuing the Order of Occurrences, we are arriv'd, as it were, at a fair and easie passage to those of *Asia* ; let us proceed then to recount the Hostilities transacted in those parts of the World, contemporary with the others we have already related.

We shall begin, as we promis'd, with the History of the War, that was wag'd between *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy* for the *Lower Syria*. For albeit Hostilities were yet on Foot between these two Princes, at the time we brake off our Relation of the *Grecian* Affairs ; nevertheless, we had good reason to pursue that Method, for the better uniting the Parts of our History. And to prevent the danger of Mistakes in the Reader, touching the Date of Transactions, we conceive we have therein done enough, when in speaking of what was there acted during that *Olympiad*, and what at the same time in *Greece*, we have punctually remark'd the beginning and end of the *Asian* Transactions. Furthermore, for the better perspicuity of our History, and that we may render it more intelligible, we have judg'd it most behoveful not to mingle the Occurrences of that *Olympiad*, but to refer it to
subse-

subsequent Times, when we shall assign to each Year its peculiar Actions and Adventures in order as they happen'd. For having undertaken to write not any particular or separate History, but to recount all that was done every where at the same time; and forasmuch as we have engag'd in a Work superiour to all who have gone before us; we ought therefore to make it our chief Business so to dispose of the several Members, and unite the Parts in such order, that the whole may appear uniform and entire: and yet that no one part thereof may be liable to obscurity. Whereof after we shall have here first hinted some distant matters touching the Reigns of *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy*, we shall then proceed to give our Story such a beginning, as shall be evident and known to all, and of a piece with the Occurrences which preceded.

The Ancients have somewhere said, That a good beginning is half the Work; whereby they would instruct us, that in all our Undertakings, our principal Care should be to begin well whatsoever we go about: And 'tis possible some may object, That they have herein gone too far, while in my Judgment they have said less than the matter will bear. For I think it may with safety be maintain'd, That not the half only of any Enterprize is effected when 'tis well begun, but the whole well-nigh brought to pass: For 'tis impossible to enter successfully on any Design whatsoever,

ever, without having first form'd and digested the whole Project, and meditated with deliberation both on the beginning, progress, and end. For who can be able to give a Summary, or Recapitulation, of what he hath written at the end of his Discourse, if there be not connexion or coherence in what he hath deliver'd, whereby it may be discern'd, from whence, why, and how matters have been conducted to that issue? He therefore who would write a General History, or would but study it as he ought, should above all things labour to begin well, and then he may conclude the better half of his Work done. And this shall be our utmost Endeavour.

Nevertheless, 'tis seen that most Historians say with me, That they write a General History, and that their Work is the greatest that hath ever been undertaken. But of all these Authors, I know none, *Ephorus* excepted, who was the first and only Writer that hath propos'd indeed to compose a General History. But I will not arraign any one here in particular; and only remark, that there have been Authors in these our days, who undertaking to write History, have in three or four Pages, comprehended the Wars of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, and with assurance are bold to boast they have therein written the whole Story of the Universe. True it is, that that Age was celebrated for many great Actions both in *Spain*, *Africk*, *Sicily*, and *Italy*; and the

the War of *Hannibal* exceeded all others, both for Dignity and Duration, except the first *Punick* War, when the Dominion of *Sicily* was contested; which, in short, was such as held the whole World in suspense, all Nations under great Fear and Uncertainty attending the Event. But who is so stupid or incurious, that is not in some measure instructed in these Adventures? And yet there are Historians, who tho' they have touch'd never so superficially those matters, would nevertheless persuade us they have left nothing unsaid of the Affairs of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*; and these I think may be fitly compar'd to those Painters, who according to the custom of some States, draw on the Walls of their Publick Buildings, the History of their Exploits in divers Ages and Places, and would be thought to have therein represented every thing just as it was done.

If it should be demanded then, how Historians come to be guilty of this Vanity? I answer, That it is easie to promise any thing, and as easie to undertake and engage in the most difficult Enterprizes by Words and Discourse; but few there are who rightly weigh the Difficulty of the execution. The one is common and familiar, the other rare and next to impossible; and whosoever he may be that hath compass'd it, it must have been at the cost of mighty Pains, and the product of many Years of Life. Thus much I have thought
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fit to say, in reproof of such as over boasting-ly magnifie their Works, and vain-gloriously exalt their own Merit. But now let us proceed to our Business.

Ptolomy King of *Egypt*, surnam'd *Philopater*, took on him the Government of that Kingdom on the death of his Father, and the murder of *Megas* his Brother and his Adherents; by which means, and some other Acts of Caution, he reckon'd himself secure against any Attempts from those of his own House, and concluded Fortune Herself had cover'd him from all Dangers abroad. Furthermore, *Antigonus* and *Seleucus* being now dead, and *Antiochus* and *Philip* succeeding them, who were yet but young, and hardly out of their Childhood: *Ptolomy*, I say, for these Reasons beholding himself shelter'd on all sides from Danger, govern'd his Kingdom as if his Pleasure and Ease had been now his only Business, and resign'd up to a voluptuous Life, forgot the Duties of his Dignity, and grew to neglect every body and every thing; all access to him became difficult, as well to those of his own Court, as others who had charge of Publick Affairs, both within and without the Kingdom; albeit the Kings his Predecessors had been no less solicitous for the one than the other, and as jealous of their Authority abroad as at home. For the Lieutenants of their Provinces in *Cælo-Syria* and *Cyprus* were wont to wage War with the neighbouring Princes of
Syria

Syria by Land and Sea ; and those, who had the Government of their principal Towns on the Sea-coast from *Pamphylia* to the *Helle-spont*, and who had the Command of the Country bordering on *Lyssimachia*, kept a watchful Eye on the Actions of the Princes of *Asia*, and of the Islands ; while those that rul'd in *Ænus*, *Maronea*, and the Towns beyond them, were as careful to observe the *Macedonians* and the Occurrences of *Thrace*. Insomuch that the *Ægyptian* Kings, embracing so wide a Dominion, were cover'd, as one may say, with a Buckler against all those Princes, and never took thought for *Egypt* it self, while the Avenues were so carefully kept. But forasmuch as the King we are speaking of now left all things at random, while himself, dissolv'd in Love and Wine, took care for nothing ; it was not strange that he should soon find Enemies, who would conspire against both his Life and Kingdom.

The first of these was *Cleomenes* of *Sparta*, who attempted nothing during the Life of *Ptolomy Euergetes*, with whom he was in great Friendship, and by whose Favour and Assistance, he had hopes of recovering his Kingdom. But after his Death, and his own Affairs inviting him to try his Fortune, *Antigonus* being also now dead, and the *Achaians* diverted by War ; and what *Cleomenes* had ever ardently labour'd to effect being come to pass, namely, that the *Ærolians* confederating

ting with the *Lacedaemonians* (who equally hated the *Achaians* and *Macedonians*) should jointly enter into a War against these two States. These things, I say, falling out, were a motive to press by all means possible his departure from *Alexandria*. And first he mov'd the King therein, demanding Succours both of Men and Stores of War. Afterwards perceiving him to lend no very willing Ear to his suit, he besought him at least for permission for himself and Followers to depart; for that he could not hope for a more favourable Conjunction, than that which now offer'd, for the recovery of his Kingdom. But *Ptolomy*, amus'd neither with future nor present things, giving himself up to his Pleasures and Debauches, came to no Resolution touching the Request of *Cleomenes*.

Furthermore, *Sofibius*, who at that time was first Minister of State, and govern'd the Affairs of *Egypt*, coming to consult with his Friends thereupon, it was concluded among them, that it was not safe not only to supply *Cleomenes* with what he demanded, but even to let him depart the Kingdom. For after the death of *Antigonus*, they came to neglect their Frontier Provinces, taking for granted, that the expence of those Affairs was now needless. They furthermore consider'd, that *Cleomenes* having now no Rival in *Greece* that could withstand him, became jealous lest coming to recover the Dominion of that Country, he might

might not become a formidable Enemy to them; knowing, as he so well did, the Frailties of their King, and the general State of the *Egyptian* Affairs, and that their Provinces were remote and disjointed, which he might greatly improve to their damage: For at *Samos* they had a numerous Fleet, and at *Ephesus* a great Body of Troops. Wherefore, I say, they resolv'd that it would not be Wisdom to permit not only that *Cleomenes* should go with an Army, but not safe to permit him to quit the Country at all, considering the Greatness of his Character, and how he had been disoblig'd, which he would consequently study to revenge. It remain'd then that they must determine to detain him by force; and yet they wanted Resolution to conclude thereon, looking on it as a dangerous Attempt to imprison a Lion among a Flock of Sheep; and *Sosibius* himself became of that mind, for the Reasons we shall now deliver.

At what time they were deliberating about putting *Magas* and *Berenice* to death, fearing, lest their Design might miscarry through the great Power and Resolution of *Berenice*. The Conspirators therefore were oblig'd to flatter and treat, with better usage than ordinary, some Persons about the Court; and to give them Assurances of great Advantages, in case their Design succeeded. Wherefore *Sosibius* well knowing of what importance it was to *Cleomenes* to acquire the Good-will of the

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King,

King, whose Assistance he needed, and that he was an able and well-experienc'd Person, came to reveal the Conspiracy to him, adding many fair Promises, and Assurances of his good Offices in his Service; whereupon *Cleomenes* taking notice of the Disturbance he was under, and that they very much apprehended Danger from their Mercenaries, told him he might be ought of pain in that particular, for that those People should give them no molestation; but, on the contrary, if need were, should lend them their assistance. This was a surprizing Saying to *Sofibius*, while *Cleomenes* proceeded; adding, that there were few less than three thousand *Peloponnesians* in the Army of Mercenaries, and at least a thousand *Candiot*s, who, upon his least beck, would beat his Command; and from the Troops of *Syria* and *Caria*, there was no danger to be fear'd. In short, this Discourse at that time greatly pleas'd *Sofibius*, and animated him to the murder of *Berenice*. But afterwards as often as he ruminated on the Folly and Weakness of the King, and the hardy and enterprising Qualities of *Cleomenes*, and the Affection the mercenary Soldiers bore him, he could not contain his Fear. Wherefore he prevail'd with the King and those about him, to consent that *Cleomenes* might be taken into custody: And the better to compass his purpose, he made use of an occasion we shall now relate. There chanc'd to be at that time in these

these Parts, a certain *Messenian* call'd *Nicagoras*, who had been an old Friend of the Father of *Archidamus* King of *Sparta*; and albeit with *Archidamus* himself he had not had that intimacy, nevertheless upon his leaving the City out of fear of *Cleomenes*, and retiring to *Messena*, *Nicagoras* did not only hospitably receive him into his House, and supply him with all things necessary, but grew at length to cultivate a Friendship with him, equal to that which had been heretofore between him and his Father. Wherefore when afterwards it came to pass, that *Cleomenes* had given *Archidamus* some hopes of his return, and that there appear'd some likelihood of an Accord, *Nicagoras* interpos'd his good Offices, and acted in the Treaty between them.

After all things seem'd to be adjusted, and that *Archidamus* on the Faith of *Nicagoras's* Treaty was returning, and on his way to *Sparta*, he was intercepted by *Cleomenes*, and slain, but without any Violence offer'd either to *Nicagoras*, who was in his company, or any body else of his Train. Wherefore *Nicagoras*, tho' he made publick profession of his Obligation to *Cleomenes* for sparing his Life, nevertheless he harbour'd in his Mind Resentments suitable to that Outrage. This *Nicagoras* then coming to *Alexandria*, to dispose of certain Horses he had brought over, as he was landing meets with *Cleomenes*, who

with *Panteus* and *Hippitas* were walking on the Strand. As soon as *Cleomenes* knew him; he came and saluted him in friendly manner; demanding what business had brought him thither? And when he told him, he had brought over some Horses to sell; *Cleomenes* reply'd, That he would have made a better Voyage, if he had brought a Cargo of Buffoons, and Beautiful Boys, for that the present King like'd that sort of Merchandise much better. At which saying *Nicagoras* smiling, reply'd little; but a while after coming to have some Discourse with *Sofibius* about the disposal of his Horses, he told him what *Cleomenes* had said, not without design of doing him an ill Office at Court; and perceiving *Sofibius* pleas'd with the Relation, he proceeded to reveal to him the Subject of his Hatred, and the Aversion he bore to *Cleomenes*.

Sofibius, coming thus to discover that *Nicagoras* was an Enemy to *Cleomenes*, prevail'd with him by Gifts and Promises to write a Letter to him, containing Accusations against *Cleomenes*, which Letter should be left with one of his Servants on his departure, to be by him brought some Days after, as if *Nicagoras* had dispatch'd him for that purpose. Accordingly a Letter was written, and the Matter conducted as had been agreed, and as soon as *Nicagoras* was gone, the Messenger brought the Letter to *Sofibius*, which, together with the Bearer, he immediately carried to the King. The

Contents were, that in case *Cleomenes* were not speedily dispatch'd with a Body of Troops, and all things necessary for his Enterprize, he would be the occasion of great Troubles in the Kingdom. This then was the Engine whereby *Sofibius* wrought with the King and his Creatures to determine on putting *Cleomenes* under Confinement, and securing him with a good Guard. Whereupon he was secur'd, having a large House appointed him for his Prison, which differ'd from others in nothing, but that it was more spacious. And now *Cleomenes* perceiving there was no hope left him, resolv'd however to attempt his Inlargement by all the ways he could imagine, whereby to compass it; not that he saw how it could probably be effected, being destitute of all necessary means to put his purpose in Execution, at least he resolv'd to die like himself, and never yield to stain that Vertue which had render'd him so considerable in the World. And I am ready to believe he had his Mind preposess'd, and set before his Eyes what all great Men do in the like Exigencies.

*To urge their Fate with safety to their Fame,
And to Posterity consign a Name.*

Cleomenes then being inform'd of the King's purpose to make a Progress to *Canopus*, contriv'd to have it bruited among his Guards, that he was to be speedily set at liberty; and

on that pretext he caus'd Provision to be made for a great Entertainment to those of his Family, sending to his Guards plenty of Meat and Wine, Garlands of Flowers, &c. insomuch that the Soldiers drinking too plentifully, he took that occasion about mid-day to escape out of Prison, with all his Domesticks in his Company; who with their drawn Swords meeting in the Market-place with the Governor of the Town, they threw him out of his Chariot, and kill'd him on the place amidst his Guards, who stood astonish'd at the boldness of the Action; in the mean time, crying *Liberty, Liberty*, as they pass'd along. But when they saw none approach to join them, all People standing amaz'd at the Greatness of the Enterprize, they then betook them towards the Castle, with design to set all the Prisoners at liberty, and to make use of their assistance: but those who Commanded in that Fortress suspecting their purpose, and strengthened the Guards, and secur'd the Gates: Whereupon *Cleomenes* and his Followers seeing now no hopes on that side, turn'd their Swords on each other, and so generously dy'd (and as one may say) *Laconian*-like. Thus fell *Cleomenes*, a Personage most agreeable, and admirably gifted for Conversation; but above all things qualify'd for the Conduct of great Affairs; and, in conclusion, one whom Nature had endow'd with all the advantages requisite to a great Captain and a King.

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Not long after, *Theodotus* an *Ætolian*, Governour of the *Lower Syria*, revolted; partly out of Contempt of the King, who led so infamous a life, and partly out of an apprehension of ill Offices done him by the great ones at Court some time before; notwithstanding the good Service he had done the King in many occasions, and principally in the War against *Antiochus* for the *Lower Syria*: Nevertheless, he was so far from being consider'd according to his Merit, that being commanded to come to Court, he there ran great hazard of his Life. Wherefore on these Provocations, *Theodotus* resolv'd to apply himself to *Antiochus*, and to put the Towns of that Country into his Hands; which Overture was gladly receiv'd by that Prince, and the Design soon after put in Execution. But that we may Treat of the Family of this Prince in the same Method we have done the last, we shall have occasion to go a little back; and taking our beginning from the time of *Antiochus's* coming to the Crown, we shall descend to the Subject of the War, whereof we purpose to Treat.

Antiochus the Younger then, was the Son of *Seleucus*, who was surnam'd *Callinicus*; who after the Death of his Father, and the Accession of his Elder Brother to the Crown, went into the *Upper Asia*, where he held his Abode for some time. But on the Death of *Seleucus* his Brother, who was Treacherously slain

slain in his Expedition over Mount *Taurus*, as we have elsewhere Noted; *Antiochus* Succeeded him who made *Achæus* Governour of all that part of *Asia* on this side Mount *Taurus*, and gave to *Molon* and his Brother, the Government of the Upper Provinces; namely, to *Molon* the *Satrapie* (so call'd) of *Media*, and to *Alexander*, that of *Persia*.

But these two Brothers contemning the Youth of the King, and being in hopes *Achæus* would join with them in the like Design; and apprehending above all things, the Cruelty and perverse Mind and Calumnies of *Hermias*, who at that time Rul'd Affairs at Court; wherefore they came to a Resolution of casting off their Obedience, and of endeavouring to withdraw the other *Satrapa*'s from their Duty to the King. *Hermias* was a *Carian* by Birth, and receiv'd his Authority, and the Administration of the Government, at the Hands of *Seleucus*; who at his Departure towards Mount *Taurus*, had committed the Affairs of the Kingdom, during his Absence, to his Care; who beholding himself thus Exalted, grew to Envy and Suspect all who had any Trust or Share in the King's Esteem. In a Word, being naturally a Tyrant, he would ordinarily punish the slightest Faults with Rigour, making them greater by his Exaggerations; and often appear'd a Cruel and Inexorable Judge towards others who had no Faults but of his finding. But above all things, he

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was bent on the Ruine of *Epigenes*, who had the Charge of leading back the Troops, that were Assembled out of Affection to *Seleucus*: For he well knew him to be a Man both Eloquent and Able for Execution, and who had great Authority in the Army. This he could not brook; wherefore he watch'd him with a Malicious Eye, and study'd by all ways possible, to render him Obnoxious. In short, it chanc'd, that while they were deliberating in Council about the Rebellion of *Molon*, and on the King's Command, that every one should deliver his Judgment freely, touching the Means of Suppressing the Rebels; *Epigenes* speaking first, gave it as his Opinion, That it was an Affair that would not endure delay, and that the Remedies ought speedily to be applied to the Disease: That he Conceiv'd the King's Presence was absolutely necessary, whose Authority on the place would weigh much: That in such case neither *Molon* nor his Partizans would have the assurance to persist in their Errour, beholding the King himself at the Head of his Army: Or should they chance to continue obstinate, the very Soldiers would Mutiny, and deliver them up to the King.

Hardly had *Epigenes* finish'd his Discourse, when *Hermias* in passionate manner reply'd, That this was not the first Traiterous Counsel he had given: That he had long harbour'd Evil Purposes towards the King: That it now
pleas'd

pleas'd him however to behold him openly, declaring his Wickedness in the pernicious Advice he had offer'd, wherein he plainly shew'd his Design of giving up the King into the Hands of the Rebels. He added nothing further at that time on that Subject, seeming content to have thus sown the Seeds of Suspicion and Calumny against him, expressing rather his Indignation than Hatred. In a Word, his Ignorance in Military Affairs (it may be) gave him greater Apprehension of the Danger than needed : Wherefore his Advice was, That no Army should be sent against *Molon*, but that they should March against *Ptolomy* ; who being a Vicious and Careless Prince, he concluded that War would be Manag'd with less danger. Howbeit, after he had thus astonish'd the Assembly, he yielded that *Molon* should be Prosecuted by War, and that the Chief Command in that Expedition should be given to *Xeno* and *Theodotus*, Counselling the King to pursue the Recovery of the *Lower Syria*, to the end that Young Prince being Engag'd and Surrounded with Troubles from all Quarters, and keeping him in perpetual Action, he might, as he conceiv'd, render himself the more necessary, and cover with more safety, the Crimes of which he was Conscious, and better secure his Credit with his Master. Pursuant to which Design, he Forges Letters from *Achæus*, and brought them to the King ; which Letters contain'd

King

King *Ptolomy's* Solicitations to him, to take on him the Royalty, promising him his Assistance both of Money, Ships, and all things he should stand in need of, provided he would Assume the Crown, and the other Marks of Regality, whereof he was in effect already Possess'd, tho' he shun'd the Title, and neglected the Tender of a Diadem which Fortune her self made him. This Letter found so much Credit with the King, that he thereupon determin'd forthwith earnestly to pursue the War in *Cælo-Syria*.

While these Matters were under agitation, *Antiochus* being at *Seleucia*, *Diognetus* his General at Sea arriv'd, bringing with him *Laodice* the Daughter of *Mithridates*, who was Espous'd to *Antiochus*. This *Mithridates* boasted of his being Descended from one of the Seven *Persians*, who slew the *Magi*, holding Possession of that Dominion, which *Darius* had heretofore given to his Ancestors, extending as far as the Coast of the *Euxine* Sea. *Antiochus* went in great Pomp to receive this Princess, whom he presently Marry'd, the Nuptials being Solemniz'd with all possible Magnificence. As soon as the Ceremony was over, he carry'd her to *Antioch*, where he caus'd her to be receiv'd as Queen; and then turn'd his Thoughts to prepare for the War. In the mean time *Molon* had prepar'd the People of his Government for every thing he might be dispos'd to attempt, as well by the hopes

hopes of Reward, as through the fear where-with he had possess'd the Principal Officers, by angry and menacing Letters counterfeited from the King. Furthermore, his Brother was in a readineſs to join him; and he had well provided againſt all danger that might threaten from the Neighbour-Provinces, having been at great Expence to Purchase the Good Will of thoſe, who had any Authority among them; and, in a Word, March'd with his Army to Incounter the King's Forces. While *Xeno* and *Theodotus* were ſo terrify'd at his approach, that they retir'd and ſecur'd themſelves in the Neighbouring Towns. Whereupon *Molon* making himſelf Maſter of the Territory of *Apollonia*, became ſupply'd with all ſorts of Proviſions of War in great abundance, and was already grown formidable in appearance, and in effect: For, firſt the King's breed of Horſes was intirely in poſſeſſion of the *Medes*; which Country moreover abounds in Corn and all ſorts of Cattel. As to its Strength, all that can be ſaid, would not amount to half what the Subject will bear. *Media* is Situate in the heart of *Aſia*, and if compariſon be made between that and the other parts, it will be found to ſurpaſs all the Provinces thereof, both in extent of Territory and height of the Mountains that ſurround it. They have many powerful Nations that are their Borderers: On the Eaſt are the Deſarts which lie between *Persia* and *Parafia*.
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The *Caspian* Pass call'd the *Gates*, is in their keeping, where they touch on the Mountains *Tapyræ*, which are not far from *Hyrkania*. It extends towards the South to *Mesopotamia*, and the Territory of the *Apolloniates*. Nor is it remote from *Persia*, being cover'd on that side by the Mountain *Zagros*, which hath an ascent of above twelve Miles. And whereas this Mountain is divided and broken into many Parts and Eminencies, it comes to pass that there are divers Vallies and deep Descents, which are inhabited by the *Cossæi*, *Corbrenæ* and *Carchi*, and other Barbarous Nations, who are generally given to War. Towards the West they approach the Country of *Atropatii*, who are not far from those People, whose Dominion extends as far as the *Euxine* Sea. The Frontiers of *Media* towards the North, are in the Neighbourhood of the *Elymæi*, *Ariaracæ*, *Cadducæi*, *Matiani*, and in short, overlook those Countries on the *Pontic* Sea, that join the *Palus Mæotis*. The Country is also parted into sundry Divisions, by Mountains, which run through it from East to West, between which there are Plains abounding with Cities, and Peopled Places.

As soon as *Molon* had made himself Master of this Country, the most proper of all others wherein to establish the Seat of his Dominion; over and above that, he was become formidable, as was noted, by the Power he had acquir'd; he grew likewise into such Reputation,
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that the People of *Asia* believ'd he was not to be resisted; especially when they saw the King's Army had been forc'd to Retreat into Towns for safety; which they took for granted, was no other than yielding up the Field: This Success greatly augmented the Courage and Expectations of his Army. Wherefore he resolv'd to pass the *Tigris*, and march to the Seige of *Seleucia*. But being prevented in that Design by *Zeuxes*, who had seiz'd on the Vessels of Transportation, he retir'd to a Place call'd *Ctesiphon*, where he made plentiful Provision of all Necessaries for the Wintering of his Army. When the King came to understand that *Molon* Advanc'd, and that his own Army retir'd, he then resolv'd to go at the Head of his Forces, and to respite for a while, his Expedition against *Ptolomy*. But *Hermias* continu'd firm to his Purpose, and prevail'd to divert him; so *Xenatas* an *Achai-an*, was sent with an Army, having as absolute Authority as if the King had been there in Person; *Hermias* demonstrating that 'twas enough for Princes to make War against Rebels by their Lieutenants, but that Kings ought to oppose themselves only to their Equals, where Glory and Empire is the Subject in Dispute. Thus having the young Prince intirely in his Possession, he prevail'd to carry on his first Design, so they went to *Apamea*, where they Assembled the Troops. From thence the King lead his Army to *Laodicea*, then marching

ing through the Defart, they came to the Valley of *Marsya* between the Mountains *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*, a Place very streight and inclos'd by those Mountains which come almost to touch; and there where it is narrowest, it is full of low and watery Ground, where they gather Odoriferous Dew. The Castle of *Brochi* Commands on the one side of the Streight, on the other that of *Gerra*; there being only a narrow way between them. After some time had been spent in their March through this Vale, and the taking in some Neighbouring Towns, the King approached *Gerra*; but both the one and the other Fortrefs being in the Hands of *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, who had likewise well Fortify'd the Defilée about the low Grounds, and Posted Troops Commodiously for Defence, the King resolv'd to force his Passage. But when he had well consider'd, that by Seiges he should Harraß his Army, and be more a Sufferer himself than the Enemy; and having some Reasons to believe that *Theodotus* would shortly be wrought over to his Service, he forbore to Prosecute that Enterprize; so that having no present Prospect of succeeding here, and receiving notice of the Defeat of *Xenætas*, and that *Molon* Victorious had subdu'd many Provinces, he resolv'd to relinquish all other Designs, and deliberate on those Affairs which more nearly concern'd him. For *Xenætas*, as we noted, being sent with an Authority full and absolute,

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could not well bear that Degree of Greatness, which he had never hop'd to attain, but grew insolent towards his Friends, and acted inconsiderately against the Enemy. For taking his march towards *Seleucia*, having *Diogenes* Governour of *Susiana*, and *Pythias* with him, who brought his Troops from the Coast of the Red-Sea, under his Command; he came and encamp'd in view of the Enemy, being cover'd on that side by the *Tigris*.

In the mean time many Deserters from *Molon's* Army, swimming the River, came over to *Xenætas*, who gave him assurance, that in case he pass'd the River with his Army, the greatest part of the Enemies Troops would revolt to him, many of the Leaders being oblig'd by *Molon*; and that the Soldiers in general were dispos'd to return to their Duty. *Xenætas*, encourag'd by these Reports, resolv'd to pass over the Army, and shew'd a purpose to make a Bridge at a certain place where by the force of the Stream the Earth is cast up in form of an Island, but he did not prosecute that Design: Whereupon *Molon* made a Jest of his Project. Nevertheless, *Xenætas*, in the mean time, caus'd Boats to be built, and seiz'd on others where they could be found, to put in execution what he had purpos'd. Then picking out a Body of the best Troops of the Army, both Horse and Foot, and leaving *Zeuxes* and *Pythias* with the rest to guard the Camp, he wasted over his

his Men by Night, marching and encamping about Ten Miles above the Enemy, where he made choice of a commodious and well-defended piece of Ground to encamp in; for the River environ'd it almost quite round, and the rest was secur'd by a Moor, and deep boggy Ground. *Molon*, upon knowledge hereof, detach'd a Body of Horse with Command to march towards the Enemy, partly to prevent the passing of those that remain'd behind; and partly to attack those who were already got over. But on their approach to *Xenætas's* Camp there was no need of the Swords of an Enemy to defeat them; for being, it seems, unacquainted with the Ground and Country about it, they chanc'd to fall among the Bogs and watery places, whereby not only their Design miscarried, but most of the Party were lost. Wherefore *Xenætas*, now persuaded, that if he drew nearer to the Enemies Camp, the greatest part of the Army would desert to him, took his march along the River, and came and Encamp'd close by them. Whereupon *Molon*, either out of Stratagem, or some real doubt of the Soldiers Disposition, left his Camp by Night, with all his Baggage, seeming to take his march towards *Media*. *Xenætas* now believing that *Molon* had forsaken his Camp through fear upon his approach, or through distrust of his own Troops, took possession thereof, where he quarter'd his Army, giving his Orders, that the Horse and

Baggage of *Zeuxes* Camp should forthwith pass over and join him. Then assembling the Soldiers, he encourag'd them, by giving them hopes of a good issue of the War, for that *Molon* had already thought it his safest course to fly before them; so commanding them to refresh and repose themselves, he order'd them to be in a readiness to march by break of Day in pursuit of the Enemy.

And now the Army of *Xenætas*, full of Assurance, and being possess'd of so great plenty of all things, fell to Feasting and making Merry, Drinking to excess, and acting in every thing the parts of careless dissolute People. While *Molon*, when he thought he was got far enough, made an halt; and taking some space to refresh his People, sat'd about, and march'd directly back by the way he came; and advancing to the Camp, found the Enemy negligently scatter'd here and there, plung'd in Sleep and Wine. Wherefore attacking them at Day-break. *Xenætas*, astonish'd at the surprize, and not able to awaken and draw his Troops together to make head against the Enemy, lost his Life, gallantly fighting. The greatest part of the Army were cut off in their Tents, the rest casting themselves into the River, hop'd to gain the Camp on the other side, but very few escap'd over. Here might be seen the divers Scenes of Tumult and Confusion in the Army; for all had their share of Terror, at an

Attempt so unlook'd for : And while they view'd their Camp on the other Bank of the River, without regard to the violence of the Stream, or the difficulty and danger of the Passage, such was their Passion to escape the Swords of the Enemy ; their fear, I say, had so blinded their Judgment, that to save themselves from the hands of those that pursu'd them, they committed themselves to the Waters, making their Horses, Baggage, and all attempt to pass the River, as if they thought some special Providence had commanded the Flood to yield them succour, and waft them safe to the other Shore ; so that it was a lamentable sight to behold at once Men, Horses, Arms, Baggage, the Dead and Living floating and mingled together in confusion.

Molon becoming Master of *Xenatas's* Camp, afterwards pass'd the River without impediment, none withstanding him ; for *Zeuxes*, who might have hinder'd him, was fled ; wherefore he took possession likewise of the other Camp. Then upon this Success he march'd speedily to *Seleucia*, which soon fell into his hands ; for that *Zeuxes* and *Diomedon*, who was Governour of the Place, had deserted it. Then reducing the upper Provinces to his Obedience, where he found none to oppose him, he march'd on, and subdu'd the whole Country of *Babylon*, and all the Territory extending as far as the *Red-Sea*. From thence he march'd to *Susa*, which was

taken by Assault, as other Places had been ; but he in vain attempted the Fortrefs of that Place, for that *Diogenes* the Governour had made timely provision for his Defence: Wherefore he forbore to use force, but leaving Troops to block it up, took his march back to *Seleucia*, where he refresh'd and recruited his Army ; and then after he had well encourag'd them, he proceeded on further Enterprizes. Thus *Molon* reduc'd all the Country to the City *Europus*, and all *Mesopotamia* as far as *Dura*.

When *Antiochus* came to be well inform'd of these Occurrences, he quitted the barren Country of the *Lower-Syria*, (as we have noted) and turn'd his Thoughts wholly on this War. Wherefore assembling his Council once again to deliberate about it, and requiring every one to deliver his Opinion plainly touching the War of *Molon* ; *Epigenes* again first gave his Judgment, saying, That it had been well for the King's Service, if they had follow'd his first Advice without any delay or loss of time ; for the Enemy had made so great a progress, that he was confirm'd in his former Opinion ; namely, That it was most necessary the King should march with the Army, and manage the War in Person. But *Hermias* thereupon renew'd his Indignation against *Epigenes*, charging and blaming him as heretofore ; and came to exaggerate his own Praises to that degree, that every body de-

despis'd him ; and contesting with the King himself, labour'd all he could to make him persevere in his *Syrian Expedition* ; infomuch, that great Offence was taken by *Antiochus* himself, who notwithstanding interpos'd his **Authority in vain to reconcile them, *Hermias* being by no means to be wrought from his Aversion to *Epigenes*.** Howbeit, his Advice at length prevail'd, as being the most safe and profitable ; which *Hermias* not being able now longer to hinder, seem'd on the sudden to accord entirely to what he cou'd not prevent ; and becoming (as one may say) another Man, resolv'd, that laying aside all other Affairs, the War with *Molon* ought to be vigorously prosecuted : Wherefore he apply'd himself with great diligence, and turn'd all his Thoughts to make preparation for carrying it on.

And now when the King's Troops were assembl'd at *Apamea*, there grew a Mutiny in the Army about the Arrears of Pay. Whereupon *Hermias* perceiving the King to be surpriz'd, and to seek what to do, made an Offer to him, proposing to satisfy the Soldiers Arrears out of his own private Fortune, provided he would yield that *Epigenes* might not be employ'd in that Expedition ; pretending, that the Differences which had happen'd between them, would be the occasion of Disputes, that would greatly hinder him in the management of his Affairs. The King, in

truth, lent a very unwilling Ear to the Proposal, believing it to be for his Service to take *Epigenes* with him, who was well seen in Military Matters, and in every thing an able Counsellor ; but won by the Artifices of *Hermias*, who had gain'd likewise those about him, he was not Master of his own Resolutions : Wherefore yielding to present Necessity, he comply'd with the Demand of *Hermias*. Whereupon *Epigenes* retir'd to *Apamea*, pursuant to the Orders he receiv'd from the King.

All of the King's Council were ill satisfy'd with this Resolution, while, on the other hand, the Soldiers, who had receiv'd satisfaction of their Demands, express'd great Affection towards *Hermias*, by whose means they had obtain'd their Arrears. Nor was there any remaining Stirs, saving among the *Cyrrhestæ*, of whom there revolted from the King's Service to the number of Six Thousand, who for a while gave him some Trouble ; but being pursu'd and attack'd, they were defeated by those that were sent against them, the greatest part being cut off, and the remainder returning to their Obedience.

And now *Hermias*, having subdu'd those about the King by his Authority, and gain'd the Good-will of the Soldiers by his Bounty, departed with *Antiochus* and the Army ; but forgot not, by means of *Alexis*, who was Governour of the Citadel of *Apamea*, to form
this

this Design for the Destruction of *Epigenes*. He forg'd a Letter from *Molon* to *Epigenes*; and having corrupted one of his Servants by Promises of a great Reward, gives him the Letter, with Orders to lay it among the rest of his Master's Papers. Whereupon *Alexis* comes to *Epigenes*, and demands of him if he had not receiv'd Letters from *Molon*? To which *Epigenes* reply'd with Indignation, That he held no intercourse with Rebels. But *Alexis* boldly affirming the contrary, demanded leave to search; and ent'ring by force into his Lodgings, he found the Letter; with which pretext he immediately kill'd *Epigenes* on the place, the King being perswaded to think him Guilty. And tho' the principal Men about him were aw'd into Silence, and did not dare to move therein, nevertheless the Action gave them great Jealousie and Offence.

Upon the Army's arrival at *Euphrates*, *Antiochus* join'd the Troops that he found there, and pursu'd his march; and coming near *Antioch* in *Mygdonia*, Winter being now at hand, he there remain'd till the Colds were over, and in forty Days after arriv'd at *Liba*. Here he fell to deliberate with his Officers what course was best to take to find out *Molon*, and by what means they should sustain the Army in their march; for *Molon* was in possession of all the Country about *Babylon*. *Hermias* propos'd to keep along the River *Tigris*, by which means they should have the benefit of
that

that River, and two others, *Lycus* and *Kapros*, to cover and defend their Camp. But *Zeuxes*, tho' he wanted assurance to deliver his Mind as he ought, having the Fate of *Epi- genes* before his Eyes; nevertheless, such was the Weakness and Danger of *Hermias's* Advice, that with some difficulty he reply'd, That there was a necessity of their passing the *Tigris*; and made appear the great Impediments they should meet with, in holding their march along the River. He principally urg'd, that after a long and tedious Journey, and a march of six Days through a continu'd Desert, they would come to a place call'd, *The King's Ditch*; which place, if it should chance to be possess'd by the Enemy, would entirely bar their further Progress; which might be the means of exposing the Army to great danger, by their being compell'd to return by the Desert, where (which was especially to be consider'd) they should be reduc'd to want every needful thing. On the other hand, he made appear, That in case they pass'd the *Tigris*, it was more than probable, that those of the Country of *Apollonia* would see their Error, and return to their Duty, who, it was plain, were compell'd, and not out of Goodwill, but out of Fear and Necessity, had taken part with *Molon*. Furthermore, being to march through a plentiful Country, there would be no danger of being driven to straits for any thing. And what was of further im-
por-

portance, when *Molon* should see his passage back into *Media* shut up, and behold himself in streights for Provision, he would be constrain'd either to come to the issue of a Battel, or in case of refusal, would hazard the desertion of his Troops to the King.

This Advice of *Zeuxes* was approv'd, pursuant to which the Army being divided into three Bodies, they pass'd over the Troops with their Baggage in three several places. So they prosecuted their march towards *Dura*, which was at that time streighten'd by one of *Molon's* Officers, who on their approach left the Siege. Then continuing their march without halting, they pass'd by *Oricum* in eight Days and came to *Apollonia*. And now *Molon* being inform'd of the King's Arrival, and not being very well assur'd of the Good-will of the *Susians* and *Babylonians*, whom he had but lately reduc'd, and who were surpriz'd into submission; and further, fearing the Enemies design of blocking up his Passage back into *Media*, he resolv'd to lay a Bridge over the *Tigris*, and passing his Army, determin'd to gain the Mountains of *Apollonia* before *Antiochus* should arrive; for he rely'd much on his Slingers, which they call *Cyrthii*. Whereupon putting in execution what had been resolv'd, he march'd the Army away with great diligence. But the King chancing to move with all his Troops about the same time from
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Apollonia, that *Molon's* Army approach'd the Mountains, certain advanc'd Parties of choice Men of either Army happen'd to meet on the Hills. These had some dispute, and pickeer'd for a while, but on the approach of the gross of the Army, they retir'd, and the two Armies Encamp'd about five Miles asunder. But *Molon*, during the Night made reflection, how dangerous it was for Men in Rebellion to march against their Prince in broad-day and give him Battel; wherefore he became of Opinion, that the much safer course would be to fall on *Antiochus* by Night, which was accordingly resolv'd; so detach- ing a Body of select Troops, he lead them by secret ways towards the Mountains, and from thence determin'd to fall on the Enemies Camp from high Ground. But while he was on his March, he was given to understand, That Ten of his People had de- serted and stole away to the King; where- upon he desisted, and return'd back by the way he came; but coming to the Camp about break of Day, he fill'd the whole Army with Fear and Tumult: For being surpriz'd and awaken'd with the Noise, the Terror grew to that degree, that they had like to have abandon'd their Works; but by *Molon's* Care and Diligence all was ap- peas'd.

In the mean while the King, who was prepar'd to come to a Battel, order'd his Troops to march out by break of day. On the right of the Battel he rang'd the Lanciers under the Leading of *Ardyes*, of whose Conduct in War he had receiv'd sufficient Proofs. After these he posted the *Candiot*s, who had been sent pursuant to the Treaty of Peace. These were join'd by the *Galatians* and *Tectosages*; and next these he plac'd the Mercenary Strangers, who were brought from *Greece*. The King himself was at the head of a strong Battalion, where the *Cohorts* were dispos'd after the same manner. On the left he posted the Horse, that are call'd the *Troops of the King's Allies*, ordering his Elephants by tens, with Intervals between them, a little advanc'd before the Battel. On the Wings were posted the Auxiliary Troops, both Horse and Foot, who had Orders to attack the Enemy in Flank, as soon as the Battel should begin. Then the King going from Rank to Rank, spoke to the Soldiers, and in few words, as the time and occasion permitted, animated them to their Duty. He gave the leading of the Left-Wing to *Hermias* and *Zeuxes*, remaining himself in the Right.

Molon also march'd out his Army, and rang'd them with difficulty enough, by reason of the last Night's disorder; nevertheless, he form'd his Troops according to the Measures the other Army had taken, and plac'd his

his Buckler-men, *Galatians*, and heavy-arm'd Soldiers in the Centre. He distributed his Archers, Slingers, and all his light-arm'd Troops without the Horse, on the Right and Left; posted his Chariots arm'd with Sithes, advanc'd before the Line of Battel. He gave the Command of the Left to *Neolaus* his Brother, reserving the Right to himself.

Being thus drawn up, the Battel began; and, in a word, the Right of *Molon's* Army preserv'd their Fidelity to the last, engaging *Zeuxes* with great Resolution. But the Left no sooner advanc'd near the King, when they deserted and went over to him; which Accident, as it greatly terrify'd *Molon's* Army, so it increas'd the Courage of the King's. And now *Molon*, beholding himself deserted, and as it were abandon'd on all sides, and reflecting on the Punishment that awaited him, fearing to fall alive into the Enemies hands, kill'd himself; and all who had been Complices with him, and cou'd escape home, ended their Days after the like manner. *Neolaus* saving himself out of the Battel, got into *Persia*, and came to *Alexander* his Brother, where he kill'd the Wife and Children of *Molon*, and afterwards dy'd himself on their dead Bodies, having perswaded *Alexander* to do the like. After the King had pillag'd the Enemies Camp, he order'd *Molon's* Body to be fix'd on a Cross, and plac'd on one of the highest Mountains of *Media*; which was immediately put in execution

tion, the Body being carry'd into the Country of the *Chalonitidi*, and plac'd on the most conspicuous part of the Mountain *Zagra*, where it was fix'd on a Cross.

As to the Rebel-Army, after the King had severely reprov'd them, he vouchsaf'd them his Pardon ; appointing certain Officers to lead them back into *Media*, who were to remain there to regulate the Affairs of that Province.

In the mean time the King return'd to *Seleucia*, where he apply'd himself to the establishing the Affairs of the neighbouring Provinces, practising his customary Prudence and Clemency. As to *Hermias*, he continu'd the same Man still, loading the *Seleucians* with many Accusations, and condemning them in a Fine of two thousand Talents, sending their *Diganes* (for so their Magistrates are call'd) into Banishment ; and exercising his natural Cruelty on many of the Citizens, dismembring some, and putting others to death. But in the end the King's Humanity prevail'd, and put a period to those Evils, sometimes by ordering things his own way, sometimes by interposing to soften the Severities of *Hermias* ; and contented himself with diminishing the Mulct of the *Seleucians* to five hundred Talents ; on the payment whereof he receiv'd them into Grace.

After

After these things, *Diogenes* being left Governor in *Media*, *Apollodorus* in *Susa*, and *Tycho* the King's Chancellor being sent into the Countries bordering on the *Red Sea*, an entire Period was given to the Rebellion of *Molon*, and all the Troubles that fell out thereupon were compos'd. *Antiochus* encourag'd by this Success, that he might terrifie the Princes of the *Barbarians* bordering on his Dominions, and deterr them for the future from taking part with his Rebellious Subjects, or entring into Alliance with them, he resolv'd to invade them. And first he propos'd to attack *Artabazanes*, who was esteem'd superiour to the rest both in Power and Military Abilities, being over and above Lord of that People they call *Atropatii*, and other neighbouring Nations. But *Hermias* unwillingly engag'd in that War, as well in regard of the Danger it threatned, as for that his Mind was more bent on that against *Ptolomy*, according to the Resolution that had been formerly taken: Nevertheless, on the News of the Queen's having brought a Son, and conceiving the King would run some hazard of his Person in a War with the *Barbarians*, he came to promote the Proposition of invading them, in hopes of being deliver'd of *Antiochus*; proposing that in case he could by any means be rid of him, the Government of the Empire, and Tutition of the Infant-Prince would fall to his share. Wherefore after all things were pre-

prepar'd for the Expedition, the Army march'd over the Mountain *Zagra*, and fell on the Territory subject to *Artabazanes*. The Country lies on the Borders of the *Medes*, separated only by a ridge of Hills that lie between them. It extends on the one side to the *Pontus*, where the River *Phasis* runs into that Sea; and stretcheth as far as the *Caspian* Sea. The Region abounds in good Soldiers, especially Horse; it is plentifully stor'd with Provisions, and all things needful to sustain a War, the Kingdom having continu'd ever since the dissolution of the *Persian* Empire, having it seems been neglected by *Alexander*. But *Artabazanes* being old, and towards the period of his Days, and terrify'd at the Kings arrival, thought it safest to submit, and purchase Peace with *Antiochus*, on whatsoever Conditions he should please to impose.

After this Affair was accommodated, *Apollophanes*, the King's beloved Physician, perceiving *Hermias* to aspire yet beyond that degree of Power and Greatness to which he had been rais'd, began to fear, and take thought for the King's safety and his own; wherefore taking a proper occasion, he imparted his Jealousie to *Antiochus*, praying him not to rely over-confidently on *Hermias's* Fidelity, concerning which, there wanted not grounds of distrust: That, in short, it behov'd him to be on his guard, and not to defer the means of his Preservation, lest he

fell into the like Snare with his Brother: He told him he thought the Danger at hand; wherefore he conjur'd him to determine with speed touching the means of his own and his Friends Preservation.

Antiochus hereupon dissembled not to his Physician the Hatred he bare to *Hermias*, and that he had long entertain'd suspicious Thoughts of him: He told him he took in good part his care for his safety, and prais'd his Resolution in opening so frankly his Thoughts. This Discourse confirm'd *Apellophanes* that he had oblig'd the King, and that his Sentiments were conformable with his own; which gave him both Joy and Assurance. In conclusion, *Antiochus* enjoining him to have a careful eye to his and his Friends Preservation, not only in words, but in effect. And *Apellophanes* manifesting his readiness to act any part to insure his safety, they came, after a long conference, to agree, That the King should feign himself indispos'd in his Head, insomuch that for a while none were to be admitted to his Chamber. Howbeit, at length such of the King's Servants as he most esteem'd, were to be permitted to wait on him; by which means they dealt apart with such as they thought fit; and when they had imparted the Conspiracy to those who were propos'd to be engag'd, (which was not hard to bring to pass through the general Hatred *Hermias* had contracted) they deliberated how

how to 'put it in execution. The Physicians then advis'd the King to take the Morning's Air, while the Season was yet cool, and to walk abroad early : So that *Hermias* was not wanting to give his attendance at the Hour appointed ; and with him those to whom the King had communicated his purpose, but none else, in regard the King's walking out was design'd to be sooner than ordinary. Thus *Hermias* was led abroad ; and coming to a lonely place, where the King stepping aside, as on some necessary occasion, he was in the mean time kill'd by those who were about him ; a Punishment in truth too gentle for his Crimes.

The King now deliver'd of this Troubler of his Affairs, resolv'd to lead his Army home, all the Provinces through which he pass'd receiving him with Acclamations of Praise, and applauding principally his Justice in taking *Hermias* out of the World ; whose Wife and Children were at the same time ston'd to death by the Women of *Apamea*.

Upon *Antiochus*'s return home, he dispos'd his Army into Winter-Quarters, and sent to expostulate with *Achæus* about his invading the Crown, and presuming to call himself King. Afterwards he let him understand, that the League he had made with *Ptolomy*, was come to his knowledge ; and charg'd him with many other Acts contrary to Justice, and in violation of his Duty. It seems

that at what time the War was undertaken against *Artabazanes*; *Achæus* imagining the King might miscarry in that Expedition; and tho' that should not happen, yet the King being thereby drawn so far out of the way, would give him a safe opportunity to fall on *Syria*, and seize on that Kingdom for himself, aided therein by the *Cyrrhestæ*, who at that time had withdrawn their Obedience from the King: Wherefore with this Determination he march'd his Army out of *Lydia*. Furthermore, he caus'd himself to be Crown'd at *Laodicea* of *Pbrygia*, receiving and giving Audience to Ambassadors; and in his Letters to the Cities, he assum'd the Regal Title; flatter'd principally into this Attempt by the Insigations of a certain Exile call'd *Syniris*. But after some days march, and that they now approach'd *Lycaonia*, there happen'd a Mutiny in his Army, the Soldiers refusing, it seems, to be led against him, whom Nature had destin'd for their King. Whereupon *Achæus* perceiving the Army to have chang'd their Mind, chang'd also his Purpose; and to persuade them that he never design'd to invade *Syria*, he took another way, and march'd and plunder'd *Pisidia*. After which Expedition, having enrich'd the Soldiers with Booty, and confirm'd their Affection, he return'd home.

The King then, who was well inform'd of all these Passages, had, as was noted, let *Achæus* know so much by menacing Messages, and in the mean while prepar'd for the War against *Ptolomy*. To which purpose, early in the Spring, he assembled his Troops at *Apamea*, and call'd a Council to deliberate on the best way to make his entrance for the invading of *Syria*; on which subject were long Debates of the Nature of the Country, Situation of Places; of the Provision to make, and of what Benefit a Fleet would be towards the furtherance of the Enterprize. But the Advice of *Apollophanes* the *Seleucian*, the Physician we have already had occasion to name, prevail'd above the rest; who maintain'd, that the Design on *Cælo-Syria* was vain; and it would be an unprofitable Expedition to make War there, while they left *Ptolomy* in quiet possession of *Seleucia*, a Royal City, and in effect the Metropolis of the Kingdom: That not to mention the Dishonour to have that City in the hands of an *Ægyptian* King, the recovery thereof would redound greatly to the Service of the King's Affairs in many Points: That in the interim, while it remain'd in the Enemies hands, it would be a mighty Impediment to the progress of the King's Success in the Enterprize he was upon: For which way soever he had a mind to carry the War, he would find it necessary (over and above all other Preparations) to strengthen all his

P 3

Towns

Towns with extraordinary Garrisons, meerly on the account of the Danger that would threaten from *Seleucia*: But that if *Antiochus* made the recovery of that Place his first Business, it would not only serve as a Bulwark and Frontier against all the other Towns of the Kingdom, but would mainly enable him to prosecute his Enterprize both by Sea and Land.

The Opinion of *Apollophanes* then was by common Consent approv'd; and it was resolv'd to open the Campaign with the Siege of *Seleucia*. The Kings of *Ægypt* had held constant Garrison in this Town, ever since *Ptolemy*, call'd *Euergetes*, offended with *Seleucus* for the Death of *Berenice*, became Master thereof; who on that Provocation, had invaded *Syria*. When it was resolv'd then, that *Apollophanes's* Counsel should be follow'd, *Antiochus* order'd *Diognetus* his Admiral, to Sail with the Fleet to *Seleucia*, while himself march'd with the Army from *Apamea*, and came and Encamp'd near *Circus*. *Theodotus* was likewise sent with a sufficient Body of Troops into the *Lower Syria*, with Orders to take Possession of the Streights, and to have an Eye to all Motions in those Parts. As to the Situation of *Seleucia*, and the Country about it, take it a little more or less, as follows, *Seleucia* stands on the Sea-Coast, on the Frontiers of *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia*, in the Neighbourhood of a very high Mountain call'd

call'd *Coryphæus*; one side of which Mountain towards the West, is wash'd by the Sea between *Cyprus* and *Phœnicia*; the other towards the East, regards the Territory of *Seleucia* and *Antioch*. *Seleucia* stands on the South-side of this Mountain, between which and the City is a deep Vale, waste and full of broken Ground, which extends to the Sea, inclos'd almost on all sides with Rocks and Precipices. On that side of the City towards the Sea, the Ground is low and watery, where there is a Suburb Fortify'd with a good Wall, like that of the City it self. *Seleucia* surpasses all the Cities of *Syria* in the Magnificence of her Temples and other Buildings. It hath but one Communication with the Sea, which is a Passage wrought out of the Rock in manner of Stairs. Not far off is seen the Mouth of the River *Orontes*, whose Head is in the Country about *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*, taking its Course through the Plain of *Amycæ*; and running to *Antioch*, divides that City as it were into two, which it cleanses of all their Filth and Rubbish, and at length discharges it self, not far from *Seleucia*, into the Sea we mention'd.

Now before *Antiochus* would proceed with Hostility against *Seleucia*, he first sent Offers of Rewards to the Principal Men of the City, and Promises of further future Advantages, to win them to yield it up without strife or resistance. But finding he labour'd that way in

vain, he corrupted several of their Military Officers, who had Posts distinct, and Commanded in sundry Quarters of the City; and in confidence of their Compliance, drew out, and order'd his Troops as for an Attack. To the Seaward the Marine Forces were appointed; towards the Land, those of the Camp were order'd to make the Assault. So making three Divisions of his Army, and animating the Soldiers according to Custom, and Proclaiming by a Herauld, Promise of extraordinary Recompences, as Crowns, and such like Rewards to the Officers and Soldiers, who should best behave themselves. He gave to *Xeuxes*, and those under him, the Attack of the Gate that leads to *Antiech*; to *Hermogenes*, that of those parts that are nearest the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*; and to *Ardys* and *Diognetus*, the Ars'nal and Suburbs; for it was agreed with the Conspirators, that as soon as the Suburbs should be won, the Town should be Surrendred. And now the Signal being given, the Attack began in all places at once, and was press'd with great forwardness and bravery. But *Ardys* and *Diognetus* signaliz'd themselves above the rest, both in Resolution and Address. Tho' indeed in other places they could not come to the foot of the Wall to erect their Ladders, without coming to Blows with the Enemy; but at the Ars'nal and Suburbs they approach'd, and apply'd their Ladders without Impediment: So that
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while the Marine Soldiers Scal'd the Ars'nal, and *Ardys* the Suburbs, and those of the Town not being able to come to their Relief, being themselves press'd on all Quarters, *Ardys*, after some Dispute, became Master of the Suburbs; whereupon the Officers who had been gain'd by the King, and Commanded in several Posts of the City, came to *Leontius* the Governour, pressing their Opinion, that there was now no safe way left, but to send immediately to the King to Treat, before the Town should be taken by Assault: Whereupon *Leontius*, who was ignorant of the Treachery, being frighted with their seeming Fear, dispatch'd a Message to *Antiochus*, with Proposals of Conditions that no Violence should be done to any, and that the Inhabitants should be Safe in their Persons.

The King on sight of the Proposals, promis'd that no manner of Injury should be done to any one of free Condition, which were to the number of Six Thousand. And in a word, when the Place was deliver'd up, he did not only deal graciously with those, but recall'd their Exiles, and restor'd the City to its Privileges, and the Inhabitants to their Estates and Authority, leaving only Garrisons both in the Port and Citadel. While the King was busied in these Affairs, Letters were brought him from *Theodotus*, by which he was Solicited to march with what Expedition he could into *Syria*, giving him assurance that
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on his Arrival, he would deliver the Kingdom intirely to his Possession. This News gave the King some trouble and suspence, uncertain what to resolve, on the intimation he had receiv'd. *Theodotus* was by Birth an *Ætolian*, who tho' he had done Eminent Service to the *Ægyptian* Kings, nevertheless his Recompences were not only short of his Merits, but coming to Court, as we have elsewhere noted, he there ran great hazard of his life. Whereupon when *Antiochus* was on his Expedition against *Molon*, *Theodotus* having no very good opinion of the state of *Ptolomy's* Affairs, and jealous of his Interest at Court, had himself taken *Ptolemais*, and won *Tyre* by the help of *Panætolus*, and had now earnestly invited *Antiochus*. Who therefore respiting for that time his Expedition against *Achæus*, and all his other Affairs; he march'd with his Army, taking the same way he had gone before. And having pass'd the Valley of *Marfyas*, he Encamp'd near the Streight, where the Fortrefs of *Gerra* stands, along the side of the Lake, between the Mountains. There he receiv'd notice that *Nicolaus*, one of *Ptolomy's* Captains, had laid Seige to *Ptolemais*, where *Theodotus* was shut up; wherefore leaving his heavy-arm'd Troops behind, and giving Orders for the Besieging the Castle of *Brochos*, that commanded the Passage by the Lake, he march'd at the Head of his light-arm'd Forces to raise the Seige of *Ptolemais*. *Nicolaus*, receiving

ceiving Intelligence of the King's approach, decamp'd from before the Town, and sent *Lagoras* a *Candiot*, and *Dorymenes* an *Ætolian*, to possess the Streight near *Berytus*. But *Antiochus* hasting after them, forc'd them to a Battel, where they were beaten; so the King himself Encamp'd in the Streight. In which place assembling the whole Army, after he had encourag'd them, he prosecuted his March with the intire Body of his Troops, full of expectation of great Success, whereof there were already so many promising appearances. *Theodotus* and *Panætulus*, accompany'd by their Friends, coming out to meet the King, were receiv'd by him with great Courtesie, to whom they deliver'd up *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, with all the Stores of War that were there lodg'd; among other things they found, there were forty Gallies, whereof twenty were cover'd and equipp'd for the Sea, and none were less than *Quadriremes*; the other were *Triremes*, and Vessels of less Rates; these were committed to *Diognetus* the King's Admiral.

In the mean time *Antiochus* being inform'd that *Ptolomy* was gone to *Memphis*, that his Troops were assembling at *Pelusium*, and that they had opened the Canals of the *Nile*, and let loose all their Water-Courses; he thereupon chaing'd his purpose of marching to *Pelusium*, and divided his Army, resolv'd to attempt the Towns by the way; some by fair means, some by force. Such Places as were not sufficiently

ly Garrison'd for Defence, were on his arrival frightened into Submission, and putting themselves under his Protection, Court'd his Favour; but such as had Men and Provisions within, and thought themselves able to withstand him, preserv'd their Obedience to their Prince; insomuch, that the King spent much time and labour to reduce them.

At to *Ptolomy* himself, who was manifestly betray'd, he took little or no thought for the better posture of his Affairs; nor dream'd of approaching the Enemy, as he ought to have done; such was his stupidity, and the aversion he ever had to Military Employments: Wherefore *Agathocles* and *Sosibius*, who were at that time in prime Authority, having the intire Administration of the Publick in their Hands, fell at length to deliberate with the best Advice they could. They resolv'd to make all possible Preparations for Defence; and to win Time, concluded to send Overtures to *Antiochus*; and to proceed in such manner, as to possess him with assurance, that he was not at all mistaken in the Mind of *Ptolomy*; namely, that he would never resolve to meet him in the Field, but endeavour by Conference and Mediation to dissuade his Enterprize on *Syria*. This Counsel being approv'd, *Agathocles* and *Sosibius*, to whom a share of the Management likewise was committed, dispatch'd Ambassadors to *Antiochus*, and so wrought that the *Rhodians*, *Byzantines*, *Cy-*
zicenians,

zicenians, and the *Ætolians* themselves, dispatch'd their Ambassadors to Mediate a Peace. In somuch, that on their arrival, the time that was taken up in Treating and Journeying from one King to another, lent space sufficient for *Sofibius* and *Agathocles* to prosecute their Preparations for the War. Their Residence was at *Memphis*, where they held their Conferences with the Ambassadors, according to the Emergency of Affairs; and where they receiv'd and treated with the Ministers of *Antiochus*. But while these were well receiv'd, and civilly entertain'd, and held in hand, all the Mercenary Strangers, which *Ptolomy* had in his Towns and Garrisons throughout the Countries of his Dominion, were assembled at *Alexandria*. Furthermore, they sent every where to levy Troops, taking care above all things, that due Provision might be made as well to sustain those they had already in Pay, as those whom they expected. Nor were they less mindful of every other Point that might require their Application to advance their Purpose; sometimes the one, sometimes the other, going to *Alexandria* to provide that nothing might be wanting towards the Execution of what had been resolv'd. To *Echebrates* the *Thessalian*, and *Phoxides* the *Miletian*, was committed the Care of providing Arms, raising Men, and forming their Troops; who were assisted by *Eurylochus* the *Magnesian*, together with *Socrates* the *Bæotian*, *Cnopias* and

and *Aloritas*. In short, it was a mighty advantage to the *Egyptians*, to be furnish'd with those Men who had serv'd under *Demetrius* and *Antiochus*, and who were at least seen in some degree in the Conduct of Battels and Military Expeditions. These then proceeded to provide for the War as fast as they could Exercise and Discipline the Soldiers, that were committed to their Care.

First, they caus'd them to be distributed according to their Age, then they arm'd them after such manner as they judg'd proper, taking from them such Arms as they had before been us'd to. They abolish'd the old way of drawing up in Battel, which had been observ'd on the review of their Armies; when they Pay'd the Soldiers, and Model'd them in such sort, as best suited with the Service they were to go upon. Then they accustom'd them to the Word of Command, wherein their Officers kept them in perpetual Exercise; instructing them likewise in the use and management of those Arms they were appointed to carry. At other times they caus'd the whole Army to be draw'n up in one place, and Exercis'd together; wherein *Andromachus* the *Aspendian*, and *Polycrates* of *Argos*, who were newly arriv'd out of *Greece*, were imploy'd above the rest. These had truly the Courage and Industry of *Greeks*, and well knew how to apply it in occasions of War. Furthermore, they were Men of Experience, and both Eminent
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by the Reputation of their Country, and the Quality of their Persons. *Polycrates* was particularly considerable by the Antiquity of his Family, and the Character of *Mnasia* his Father, who had often won the Prize in the *Olympick Games*. Thus then the Officers Exercising and Animating sometimes in Publick, sometimes in Particular, the Soldiers who were respectively put under their Command, they became bold and expert for the Service wherein they were to be employ'd.

Furthermore, ev'ry one of those we have nam'd, had their particular Posts and Charges in the Army, suited to their Talents and Capacity. *Eurylochus* the *Magnesian* had the Command of three thousand Men, being of those Troops of the King's Household, call'd *Agema*. *Socrates* the *Bæotian*, Commanded two thousand Buckler-men. *Phoxidas* the *Achaian*, and *Ptolomy* the Son of *Thrasea*, together with *Andromachus* the *Aspendian*, had the like Charge in the Phalanx and the Greek Mercenaries. But *Andromachus* and *Ptolomy* had the prime Commands in the Phalanx, and *Phoxidas* of the Mercenaries. The Phalanx was Compos'd of about five and twenty thousand Men: The Mercenaries amounted to about eight thousand: The Horse of the King's Household came to about seven hundred, who were led by *Polycrates*, together with those who were brought from *Libya*; and that were rais'd in *Ægypt*, making in all to the number
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of three thousand Men. But *Echecrates* the *Theſſalian*, had the Command of the *Græcian* Horſe, and the reſt of the Foreign Cavalry, being to the number of two thousand in all. And as he had taken great pains in Exercising and Diſciplining them, ſo was his Care viſibly re-compens'd in the Service they afterwards perform'd to *Ptolomy*. *Cnopias* alſo the *Aloritan*, yielded to none in his Diligence, in Training and Inſtructing thoſe who were committed to his Charge; who were a Body of three thousand *Candiots*, among whom were a thousand new-raiſ'd Men, which he put under the Command of *Philo* a *Cnoſſian*. There were likewiſe three thousand *Africans*, Arm'd after the *Macedonian* manner, whoſe Chief was *Animonius* the *Baræan*. The *Ægyptian* Troops, or Phalanx, amounted to twenty thousand, the Command of which Body *Soſibius* reſerv'd to himſelf. They aſſembled likewiſe of *Thracians* and *Gauls*, Subjects of King *Ptolomy's*, to the number of three thousand; and more, two thousand new-raiſ'd Men of the ſame Nations; theſe were put under the leading of *Denis* of *Thrace*. The Army of *Ptolomy* then was Compos'd of this number, and of the divers People we have recited.

Antiochus, in the mean time, laid cloſe ſiege to *Dura*; but that attempt not ſucceeding, the Place being ſtrong of it ſelf, and *Nicolaus* finding ways to recruit and ſupply them from time to time, he therefore accorded to

Ptolomy's

Ptolomy's Ambassadors (who arriv'd the beginning of Winter) a Truce of four Months; telling them, it would not be through his default, if a Peace did not follow. Nevertheless, in that he spake not his Mind; but being unwilling longer to be detain'd out of his own Dominions, he was earnest to withdraw his Army to *Seleucia* to their Winter-Quarters. Furthermore, there were grounds of suspicion that *Achæus* (whom none doubted took part with *Ptolomy*) was practising Designs against the King.

In conclusion, *Antiochus* having granted the Demands of the Ambassadors, dismiss'd them, with Injunctions to let him know speedily the Resolution of *Ptolomy*, requiring them to meet him on their return at *Seleucia*. Then putting Garrisons into proper places, and leaving *Theodorus* in the chief Command, he prepar'd for his return home. As soon as he arriv'd at *Seleucia*, he dispatch'd his Army into Winter-Quarters; where during their abode, but little care was taken to train and keep them in good Discipline; he holding his Opinion, that there would be but little occasion of fighting, to finish what he had begun: For being already possess'd of a good part of the *Lower Syria* and *Phœnicia*, he made no great doubt of acquiring easily the rest; and that what remain'd in Dispute, would be ended by Treaty and Conference; and that *Ptolomy* would never be drawn to Dispute with
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him in the Field. The Ambassadors were likewise of his Opinion; for *Sofibius*, who held the Treaty at *Memphis*, had entertain'd them with all possible Deference and Respect; and had manag'd his Affairs in such sort, that none of those, who had been sent to *Ptolomy*, were able to obtain the least information of the Preparations that were making at *Alexandria*: Wherefore the Ambassadors, at their return, declar'd that *Sofibius* was ready to yield every thing.

'Tis observable, that in all the Conferences *Antiochus* had with the Ambassadors of *Ptolomy*, he seem'd most carefully to insist on the advantage of the Right he had, as well as the Success of his Arms, against his Adversary. And on the arrival of his Ambassadors at *Seleucia*, when they came to treat about the Conditions of the Peace, pursuant to the Instructions they had receiv'd from *Sofibius*, the King made but very little account of the violence that had been acted against *Ptolomy*, whereof the whole World was witness, in his seizing of Towns in the *Lower Syria*; but frequently boasted of that Expedition, affirming he had done no wrong therein to any Man, having but barely attempted the recovery of his Right; and that *Antigonus*, *Cocles*, and *Seleucus*, who were the first Conquerors of that Province, were the rightful Masters, and that therein consisted the force of his Pretensions to the *Lower Syria*, in opposition to

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Ptolomy's. He further said, that it was true that *Ptolomy* wag'd War with *Antigonus*; but it was not for Dominion, but meerly as a Friend and Ally of *Seleucus*, to whom that Country appertain'd. Then he referr'd to the Accord made by the several Princes; at what time *Antigonus* being defeated and vanquish'd, *Cassander*, *Lyfimachus*, and *Seleucus*, met in a General Assembly, to deliberate on that Subject, when the entire Kingdom of *Syria* was adjudg'd to *Seleucus*. Those who were present on the part of *Ptolomy*, labour'd to prove the contrary, and to shew the weakness of *Antiochus's* Pretensions; and further to exaggerate the Injury, remonstrated the Indignity of breaking the Peace, by the Treachery of *Theodotus*, and the Expedition of *Antiochus*: That *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus* enter'd on the War for the acquisition of *Syria*: That he join'd his Arms with *Seleucus* conditionally, that as the Dominion of *Asia* should be his, so the *Lower Syria* and *Phœnicia* should fall to *Ptolomy's* share. The several Ambassadors urg'd these and the like Reasons in the Conferences that were held; but no fruit came of their Debates, through want of one common Mediator: For while Matters were canvas'd by People equally interest'd and partial to their own side, without any one to moderate the Heats that could not but grow between them, what success could be hop'd? The Affair of *Achæus* was likewise a great clog to the

Negotiation : For *Ptolomy* urg'd to have him compriz'd in the Treaty ; but *Antiochus* could not brook so much as to hear him nam'd, exclaiming how scandalous it was that *Ptolomy* should entertain so much as a thought of giving protection to one in Rebellion against his Prince.

Thus while these two Princes built on the Equity of their Allegations, the Treaty was defeated ; and early in the Spring *Antiochus* assembled his Troops, with intention to attack the Enemy by Sea and Land, and to prosecute his Conquest of what remain'd to be reduc'd of *Cælo-Syria*. *Ptolomy*, on the other part, committing his Affairs in those parts to the Conduct of *Nicolaus*, furnish'd *Gaza* plentifully with every needful thing for its defence, mov'd also with his Sea and Land Forces. On their arrival, *Nicholaus* prepar'd with determination to abide the War ; and was readily supply'd in all his Demands by *Perigenes*, to whom *Ptolomy* had given the Command of the Fleet and Naval Army, which consisted of thirty Vessels of War, and four hundred of Burthen. *Nicholaus* was an *Ætolian* by Nation, very brave, and in the Trade of War superiour in Knowledge to most, who at that time were in the Service of *Ptolomy*. His first care was with part of his Army to possess the Streights near *Platanos*, posting himself with the other part of his Army in the places near *Porphyreon*, to prevent any

attempt of *Antiochus* on that side. In the mean while, the Fleet remain'd at Anchor not far off.

On *Antiochus's* arrival at *Marathum*, the *A-radians* apply'd to him with Tenders of Friendship and Alliance; whom he did not only kindly receive, but interpos'd his Mediation between the Islanders, and those of the Continent; composing the Difference that had happen'd between them, and establishing Friendship among them. Then marching into *Syria*, by that passage which is call'd *Theoprosopon*, he came to *Berytus*; took *Botris* in his march, and burnt *Trieres* and *Calamus*. From thence he dispatch'd *Theodotus* and *Nicarchus*, with Orders to possess the Streights which lead to the River *Lycus*, to be beforehand with the Enemy. In the mean time, himself kept on his march with the Army, and came and Encamp'd by the River *Damura*, *Diognetus*, with the Fleet, keeping always near him. From thence, taking with him *Nicarchus* and *Theodotus*, with his light-arm'd Troops, he went to view the Streights where *Nicholaus* was posted; and after he had made Remarks to his Mind, he return'd back to the Camp. The next Day, leaving *Nicarchus* with the Command of his heavy-arm'd Troops behind, he march'd himself at the head of the rest of the Army, to put in execution what he had projected. Now, in regard Mount *Libanus* streightens, and contracts

the passage by the Sea-Coast, and the space is bounded by a Valley, waste and inaccessible, it comes to pass, that the way between that and the Sea, is very narrow and difficult. Here it was where *Nicolaus* had posted himself; where by placing good Guards in some places, and fortifying others with Works, he thought he should be able, without much difficulty, to withstand *Antiochus's* Passage.

The King, in the mean time, dispos'd his Army into three Divisions; to *Theodotus* he gave the Command of one, with Orders to attack the Enemy that was posted along the Mountain; another Division he gave to *Menedemus*, who was expressly directed to attempt the Passage that lay in the middle of the Vale; the third he appointed for a reserve, with respect to what might happen in the Naval Conflict: These were lead by *Diocles*, who was Governour of the Country of *Parapotamia* near the *Euphrates*. *Antiochus* himself making choice of such a place (attended only by his Guards) where he might stand and have a fair view of all that pass'd on every side, whereby being a Spectator of each Mans behaviour, he was inabled to judge where to supply Succours in case of Need. And now *Diognetus* and *Perigenes* drew their Fleets into a Line of Battel, drawing as near the Shore as they could, insomuch as the whole Action by Land and Sea became one single pro-

prospect. When the Signal was given they advanc'd to the Attack on all sides. The Fight at Sea continu'd for some time doubtful, their Forces being in every thing equal. And notwithstanding *Nicolaus* seem'd a while to have the better, having the advantage of Ground; yet upon *Theodotus's* forcing the Enemy from their Post on the Mountain, and from thence falling on the rest, *Nicolaus* was compell'd to give Ground, and betake him to flight. About two thousand were slain in the pursuit, and no fewer taken Prisoners, the rest got into *Sidon*. *Perigenes* likewise, who once thought he had the better in the Naval Dispute, terrify'd to behold his Friends beaten a-shoar, left the Enemy a stern, and flying, secur'd himself in the same place.

Antiochus presently thereupon leads his Army to *Sidon*, and encamps before the Town: But he thought it not advisable to attack it; for as it was very well supply'd with all sorts of Provisions of War, so the Inhabitants were numerous, and their Strength re-inforc'd by those who had fled thither after the Battel. From thence then he took his march towards *Philoteria*, ordering *Diognetus* his Admiral to make sail with the Fleet to *Tyre*. *Philoteria* stands in the neighbourhood of a great Moor, through which runs the River *Jordan*, which from thence pursues its course through the Plains of *Scythopolis*. *Antiochus* becoming Master of the two foremention'd Places, grew

into greater assurance of succeeding in his Enterprizes, in regard the Territory subject to those Towns produc'd sufficient of all things to sustain his Army, and yielded over and above enough of every thing he might need to prosecute his Design; wherefore after he had strengthen'd them with good Garrisons, he took his march over the Mountains, and came to *Atabyrium*. This Town stands on a rising Ground, which by a gentle descent terminates in a Plain, from whence to the top of the Eminence it is near two Miles. Here *Antiochus* lodg'd an Ambush, which in effect won him the Place. For after by little Skirmishes and Disputes he had drawn the People out, in one of these Ingagements, feigning to be too weak, his Party retreated, while the others pursu'd; when presently facing about, the Enemy in their turn retir'd, who meeting the Ambush in Front, many were cut off; and, in short, *Antiochus* himself pursuing the Advantage, so terrify'd them, that the Town was taken on the first Attack.

At the sametime *Keræas*, one of *Ptolomy's* Captains, deserted, and came over to *Antiochus*, whom receiving with great Solemnity, it gave occasion for many other prime Officers of the King of *Egypt* to leave his Service. For shortly after *Hippolochus* the *Thessalian* acted the same part, bringing with him to the number of four hundred Horse. *Antiochus* likewise Garrison'd *Atabyrium*, and pursuing his

Jour-

Journey, in his march receiv'd to his Obedience the Cities of *Pella*, *Camus*, and *Gephrus*, which surrender'd.

This great Success so wrought on the Minds of the neighbouring People, that they unanimously took part with *Antiochus*, whereby his Hopes increasing, and his Power being augmented by this new accession of his *Arabian* Friends; he advances into *Galatis*, which reducing, he took *Abila*, and in it those who were come in to succour it, under the leading of *Nicias*, a Kinsman and Confident of *Meneas*'s. In short, *Gadara* was the only Place that now remain'd to be reduc'd, which was esteem'd the most considerable for Strength in all that Country. To this Town the King approach'd with his Army, and so terrify'd the Inhabitants with his preparations to Attack them, that they yielded themselves up. And now being inform'd that great numbers of the Enemy were drawn together in a certain Town of *Arabia*, call'd *Rabath-ben-Ammon*, or *Rabatamana*, from whence they made Excursions, and plundered the Country of those who had contracted Friendship with him; he therefore laying aside all his other Affairs, bent his march that way, and approach'd the Mountain whereon the Town stands. After he had view'd the situation on all sides, he concluded there were but two places by which they could be attack'd; there then he posted his Troops, and caus'd his Machines to approach.

proach. The Conduct of the Works he divided betwixt *Nicarchus* and *Theodotus*, while himself kept an equal and vigilant Eye on their Behaviour, and remark'd the Affection that carry'd these two Leaders to advance his Service: Who emulating each other, and labouring who should first open a Breach, the Wall was demolish'd by that means much sooner than was expected. That Work done, the King continu'd his Attacks Night and Day, pressing by all means possible to get into the Town; but therein they long labour'd in vain, by reason of the multitude of the Defenders. Till at length one of their Prisoners discover'd, to the Besiegers, a Vault or Passage under Ground, by which the besieged descended to supply themselves with Water; which Passage being once stop'd up, the Inhabitants, streighten'd by necessity, confess'd themselves vanquish'd, and so yielded up the Town.

Thus *Antiochus* became Master of *Rabatamana*, where he left *Nearchus* Governor, with a good Garrison, and sending *Hippolochus* and *Keræas*, (who had deserted *Ptolomy*) at the head of five thousand Foot into the Country in the neighbourhood of *Samaris*, to Command in that Province, and to Defend those who had submitted to him against IncurSIONs of the Enemy, he bent his march towards *Ptolemais*, there to pass the Winter, for so he had before determin'd. During the same

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Summer, those of *Pedneliffa* being attack'd and besieg'd by the *Selgians*, and finding themselves in danger, apply'd to *Achaus* for Succour by their Ambassadors; who readily promising them his Assistance, they sustain'd the Siege with great Constancy, in hopes of his sending them Relief, which he accordingly did, dispatching *Garfyeres* at the Head of Six Thousand Foot and Five Hundred Horse.

As soon as the *Selgians* had notice of the approach of these Succours, they march'd with the greatest part of their Troops to possess the Streights, near a certain Place call'd by [those of the Country *Climax*, or the *Ladder*; posting his Troops on the Passage, or Entrance hard by *Saporda*, breaking the Ground and barracadoing the Passages every where. *Garfyeres*, marching into the Territory of the *Milyades*, came and encamp'd near *Cretompolis*; and finding it was impossible for him to advance any further, for that the Enemy had every where made themselves Masters of the Defilées; he therefore devis'd this Stratagem: He caus'd his Troops to face about, and march back by the way they came, making show, as if on finding the Ways so fortify'd, that he could not march on, he had despair'd of his Design of relieving the Besieg'd. The *Selgians* were deceiv'd by this show, and concluded *Garfyeres* had chang'd his purpose; whereupon one part of their
Troops

Troops return'd to their Camp, and the rest march'd home, for that their time of Harvest was at hand.

This being observ'd by *Garfyeres*, he there-upon march'd back, and gain'd the top of the Mountains, without meeting any force to oppose him; where posting sufficient strength to guard the Avenues, he left *Phaylus* to Command there, and march'd with the Army to *Perga*; dealing with other People of *Pisidia*, and with the *Pamphylians* themselves by Persons he dispatch'd to them, setting forth the insolent behaviour of the *Selgians* towards their Neighbours, and exhorting them to enter into the League of *Achæus*, and to contribute to the Relief of *Pednelissa*.

While these things were in agitation, the *Selgians* sent an Army against *Phaylus*, which being well acquainted with the Country, had conceiv'd hopes of terrifying him, and forcing him from his Post. But finding their Attempt in vain, and losing many of their Men in the several Attacks they made upon him, they lost their hopes likewise of succeeding that way; howbeit, they would not forsake their Enterprize, but had recourse to their Machines.

In the mean while the *Etennenses*, who inhabit the Mountains of *Pisidia* that over-look *Sida*, supply'd *Garfyeres* with a re-inforcement of eight thousand Men; and the *Aspendians* with four thousand. But those of *Sida*, who

who tho' they had a just Consideration for *Antiochus*, yet bearing no Good-will to the *Aspendians*, would not be drawn to send relief to the Besieged.

Garfyeres however, thus strengthen'd with the Succours of the Allies, march'd towards *Pedneliffa*, promising himself to be able to raise the Siege on the first attempt. But when he perceiv'd the *Selgians* to be under no surprize at his arrival, he drew near, and Encamp'd his Army close by them. The *Pedneliffians* the mean while were driven to great streights for every thing; wherefore *Garfyeres*, resolving to put relief into the Town by one means or other, drew out two thousand choice Men of his own Troops, each Man taking with him a certain proportion of Corn, order'd them to march, and endeavour to get into the Town by Night. But this attempt being discover'd by the *Selgians*, they hasten'd to prevent them; and attacking them, took all the Corn, and cut off most of the Party. This success so exalted them, that they came thereupon to resolve not only to assault the Town, but to attack *Garfyeres* himself in his Camp. For the *Selgians* are a People who in War love both those Counsels and Enterprizes best, that are most rash. Leaving their Camp therefore with a good Guard, they drew out the rest of their Troops, and posted them in divers places about *Garfyeres's* Works, and march'd to the Attack on all sides. *Garfyeres* find-

finding himself inclos'd every where by this surprizing Attempt, and beholding his Defences in some places already broken down, and the whole Camp reduc'd to extremity; order'd his Horse to sally out by a way the Enemy had taken least notice of. And now the *Selgians*, believing the Horse to be fled and escap'd away, made no more account of them, but let them pass unpursu'd; whereupon, after they had gone some distance, they wheel'd about, and fell on the Enemy's Reer, where the Dispute was bloody. Upon this, the Foot, who before were heartless, and on the point of turning their Backs, took Courage, and fac'd the Enemy with fresh Resolution, insomuch that the *Selgians*, who but now thought the Day their own, beheld themselves on the sudden, surrounded on every side, worsted, and driven to fly. At the same time the Garrison of *Pednelissa* sally'd and fell on the *Selgians* Camp, which they forc'd; whereupon the Enemy flying in disorder, they lost to the number of at least ten thousand Men. Those of their Allies who escap'd, retir'd home; and the *Selgians* gaining the tops of the Mountains, got to the City. *Garfyeres* pursuing them, being desirous to hasten out of the Defilée, and approach *Selgia* before the Enemy could have leisure to rally, and consult about their safety. Accordingly he came before the City, with his Army where the Enemy, hopeless of help from their Allies, through the loss they had late-

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lately sustain'd in their Service, and terrify'd at their Defeat, grew into doubt both of their own and their Country's safety. Wherefore calling an Assembly, they agreed to dispatch *Logbafis*, one of their Citizens, in quality of their Ambassador to *Achæus*. This *Logbafis* had been in great esteem with *Antiochus*, he who dy'd in *Thrace*; and it seems had the care of the Education of *Laodice*, (whom he brought up with the tenderness of his own Child) and who was afterwards marry'd to *Achæus*.

On these Considerations they concluded him the properest Person to be sent in the present Exigence, wherefore they dispatch'd him, But *Logbafis* revealing the Secret of his Embassy to *Garfyeres*, made so little reckoning of his Duty, and the preservation of his Country, that on the contrary he was instant with *Garfyeres* to let *Achæus* understand, that he was ready to put the City into his hands; whereupon *Garfyeres*, furnish'd with those Hopes, dispatch'd Letters to *Achæus*, praying him to dispose himself for his Journey, on the receipt of his Advice, while he in the mean time held a Truce, and enter'd into Treaty with the *Selgians*; and contriving Disputes about the Articles of the Peace, spun out the time till the coming of *Achæus*, and that *Logbafis* had leisure to conferr with him, touching the execution of their Enterprize.

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And now during the Treaty, and the going and coming of Messengers from the Town to the Camp, and from the Camp thither, the Soldiers by degrees were admitted into the Town, to traffick and buy Provisions, and what else they wanted ; an Over-sight which hath had many bad effects. And it may with assurance be said, that as there is no Creature that possesses so great a share of Sagacity and Reflection as Man, so there is scarce any more subject to be deceiv'd : For how many Towns, Fortresses, and even Camps, have been by this means betray'd to the Enemy ! And albeit there are frequent and fresh Examples of such Disasters, and we know they have befallen many ; 'tis as true nevertheless, that by I know not what kind of fatality, we know not how to secure our selves against such Arts, and are always to seek to prevent them ; the reason I take to be from our want of reflection on other Men's Adventures. Our Providence is seen in making Provision to sustain and pay our Armies, and to furnish our Soldiers with the best and most proper Arms for our Defence, while at the same time we omit what is both more easie and profitable ; namely, to be on our guard against these kind of Evils to which we lie expos'd : For Prudence may be acquir'd at our leisure, and by the study of History, we improve the Understanding without difficulty, in the contemplation of things past.

Achæus fail'd not to be present at the time assign'd, and the *Selgians* entring into Conference with him, were in hopes on that occasion of sharing with others the Benefit of his Gentleness and Humanity. But in the mean time *Logbafis*, having privately got into his House a good number of those who came from the Camp into the Town, labour'd with the Inhabitants not to lose the occasion, but to improve, while they might, the Offers so bountifully tender'd by *Achæus*: That they would do well to convoke their Assembly, and deliberate on their present state, and put a period to the Treaty they had already begun. Whereupon they call'd an Assembly of the People, drawing off those who were posted on the Walls and elsewhere, for the defence of the Place, pretending the necessity of a General Assembly of the whole Body of the People, solemnly to conclude on the Proposals.

While things were in this posture in the Town, *Logbafis* gives the Signal to the Enemy, and in the mean time causes the Soldiers he had received into his House, to be ready with their Arms, while himself and his Sons likewise prepare to act their Parts. *Achæus* then approaches the Town on one side, with one part of the Army, and *Garsyeres* with another advances towards *Cesbedium*, which is a Temple of *Jupiter*, that commands the Town in manner of a Citadel. But it chanc'd

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that these motions were observ'd by a certain Shepherd, who giving an account to the Assembly, that the Enemy were approaching the Walls; some hastned to *Cesbedium*, others to their Posts on the Walls, from whence they had been call'd; while the multitude enrag'd, ran to the House of *Logbasis*; whose Treachery being now manifest, some untile the House, while others attack and force the Gates, and in short kill'd *Logbasis*, with his Family, and the whole Party that were with him. Then they proclaim'd Liberty to their Slaves; and drawing up in several Bodies, they march'd to the defence of such Places as had most need of succour. And now *Garfyeres*, beholding the Temple in a posture of defence, thought it not safe to advance, while *Achæus*, who attempted the Gates, and us'd his utmost Endeavours to get into the Town, was attack'd by the *Selgians*; who making a Sally, slew about seven hundred *Myfians* of his Party, and compell'd the rest to retire.

After this repulse, *Achæus* and *Garfyeres* return'd to the Camp, while the *Selgians*, doubting danger from a Sedition within the Town, (the Enemy being still at hand) sent out some of their gravest Inhabitants to treat with *Achæus*, who at length accorded them Peace on the following Conditions: That they should pay down presently four hundred Talents: That the *Pednelissian* Pris'ners should be

be enlarg'd: and that within a certain space, they should pay further three hundred Talents. Thus the *Selgians*, being reduc'd to manifest danger of losing their Country by the Treachery of *Logbafis*, had the good Fortune to rescue it by their Resolution, without staining their Liberty, or violating the Alliance in which they were engag'd with the *Lacedæmonians*.

Achæus, having reduc'd the Country of *Milyas* to his Dominion, and part of *Pamphylia*, march'd to *Sardis*, where he wag'd War with *Attalus*, menacing also *Prusias*; becoming formidable to all the *Asians* inhabiting on this side Mount *Taurus*. But while he was diverted by the War with the *Selgians*, *Attalus* having with him the *Gauls*, *Ægofages*, or *Tectosages*, led his Army to the Towns of *Æolia*, and others in that Neighbourhood, who out of fear had submitted to *Achæus*. The greatest part of which Towns yielded themselves up, whom he receiv'd with gentleness, willing them to understand it in effect of his Grace and Goodness; nor were there many which exercis'd his Arms to reduce them. The principal Places that submitted were *Cuma*, *Smyrna*, *Phocæa*; and in short, the *Ægæans* and the *Lemnites* terrify'd at his arrival, submitted. The *Teii* and *Colophonii* also apply'd to him by their Ambassadors, and put themselves and Towns under his Protection.

After he had receiv'd these People according to the Conditions of the ancient League, and had likewise receiv'd their Hostages, he entertain'd the *Smyrnian* Ambassadors with singular Benignity; for indeed, that People had above all others distinguish'd themselves by a generous Fidelity towards him. From thence he continu'd his march, and having pass'd the River *Lycus*, he came to the Towns inhabited by the *Mysians*, and so proceeded to the Country of the *Carfenses*, and, in short, spread so much Fear among them, that the Garrison of *Didyma-Ticke*, where *Themistocles* had been left Governour by *Achæus*, deliver'd up the Two Castles. From thence he march'd and spoil'd the Lands of *Apia*, and passing the Mountain *Pelecas*, he came and encamp'd near the River *Megistus*. Here there happening an Eclipse of the Moon, the *Gauls*, who could no longer bear the Toils of so tedious a March, (for they went with their Wives and Children, travelling in Waggon along with them) conceiving the Eclipse to be ominous, came to a Resolution to march no further. Whereupon, tho' they were a People of no use in Attacks, and had all along, during their march, encamp'd by themselves (being subject to no Discipline) and were a proud and refractory Nation: Nevertheless, the King was in pain what to resolve about them; for he was doubtful if he should dismiss them, lest they should take Arms under

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Achaens, and that to punish their Insolence by destroying them, would redound to his discredit, they having pass'd over into *Asia* out of respect to him; wherefore he took that occasion for his return, after he had promis'd to conduct them safe to the place from whence they came, and assur'd them of Lands wherein to plant, and that he would at no time refuse to comply with any of their reasonable Demands, but do them all the good Offices in his Power; so after he had led his *Gauls* to the *Hellepont*, and treated those of *Lamp-jacus*, the *Alexandrians*, and *Illians* with great Respect (they having continu'd firm in their Fidelity) he return'd with his Army to *Per-gamus*.

It was now early in the Spring, when *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy*, having made all necessary Provisions for the War, were arriv'd at the conjuncture of deciding their Controversie by Battel. *Ptolomy* march'd from *Alexandria* with an Army of seventy thousand Foot, five thousand Horse, and seventy three Elephants; while *Antiochus*, receiving intelligence of the Enemies advancing, assembled also his Troops. His Army consisted of *Dæans*, *Carmanians*, and *Cilicians*, who were light-arm'd; these were commanded by *Byrtachus* the *Macedonian*. *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, who had deserted and betray'd the Affairs of *Ptolomy*, was plac'd at the head of twenty thousand Men, arm'd after the *Mace-*

donian manner, chosen Troops; and carrying for the most part silver'd Bucklers. The Phalanx was compos'd of about twenty thousand, which was conducted by *Nicarchus* and *Theodotus*, surnam'd *Hemiolius*. *Menedemus* the *Alabandine* led two thousand Archers and Slingers, with whom were mingled a thousand *Thracians*. There were likewise *Medes*, *Cyssians*, *Caddusians*, and *Caramanians* to the number of five thousand, who were order'd to obey *Aspasianus* the *Median*. The *Arabians* and others of the Neighbour-Nations, compos'd a Body of above ten thousand, whose Chief was *Zabdiphilus*. The *Greek* Mercenaries amounted to five thousand, and at the head of these was plac'd *Hippolochus* the *Thessalian*. *Antiochus* had likewise five hundred *Candiots*, commanded by *Eurylochus*, and a thousand new-rais'd Men of the same Country, whose Leader was *Zebes* the *Gortynian*; there were also five hundred *Lydian* Slingers, and a thousand *Cardaceans*, who had over them *Lyfimachus* the *Gaul*. The Horse consisted of about six thousand, four thousand of which obey'd *Antipater* the King's Nephew; the rest were led by *Themison*. In conclusion, the Army of *Antiochus* consisted of seventy two thousand Foot, the Horse above-noted, and a hundred and two Elephants.

Ptolomy first march'd to *Pelufium*, where he encamp'd ; and as soon as the Reer was come up, and he had distributed Bread to the Army, he prosecuted his march through a Country destitute of Water, along the Mountain *Casius*, passing by a place call'd *Baratbra*. When he arriv'd at *Gaza*, he drew out a Detachment, with which he march'd and advanc'd before the Army, without any apprehension of Impediment. The fifth Day he came to a Place where he purpos'd to halt, encamping about fifty Furlongs from *Raphia*. This is the first City of the *Lower Syria*, after *Rhinocorura*, that lies in the way from *Ægypt* into that Country.

Antiochus at the same time advanc'd with his Army; and passing by *Raphia*, he encamp'd by Night about ten Furlongs from the Enemy. For a while their Camps stood at this distance one from another. But shortly after, *Antiochus* decamp'd, and came and lodg'd nearer the Enemy, as well to better the Conveniences of his Army's abode, as to hearten the Soldiers ; so that there was not now above five Furlongs space between their two Camps ; insomuch that those who went to Water, and march'd out to Forrage, had frequent Rencounters ; and often by Parties both Horse and Foot pickeer'd between their Camps.

Here *Theodotus* gave an instance of *Ætolian* Resolution, and indeed worthy of a truly fearless Man: For having resided heretofore in *Ptolomy's* Court, and being well acquainted with the Ways and Manners of that Prince, he got a little before Day-break into the Enemies Camp, with two Men only in his company. It was not easie to know him by his Face, it being not yet Day; nor by his Habit, for that the Army consisted of great diversity of Garbs. He having before observ'd where the King's Tent stood, for that they had frequently pickeer'd near that place, approach'd undiscover'd, and entring the Tent where the King us'd to Eat, and give Audience, he search'd every-where for him, but found him not; *Ptolomy* it seem's having lain that Night elsewhere. Wherefore wounding only two Persons, and killing *Andraeus* the King's Physician, he retir'd in safety, having executed his Design, if we rightly weigh the Hazard, but fail'd only through want of information where the King was lodg'd.

After these two Princes had remain'd five Days thus near each other, they agreed to come to a decision. *Ptolomy* first march'd out, and soon after *Antiochus* appear'd in Bat-tel. Their Bodies were compos'd of their Phalanxes and chosen Troops, arm'd after the *Macedonian* manner, who were oppos'd one to another; their Wings were thus order'd, in *Ptolomy's* *Polycrates* commanded the Left,
with

with the Horse that were under his Command ; and betwixt these and the Phalanx, first march'd the *Candiots* next to the Horse : These were follow'd by the Regiment of Guards, call'd *Agema* ; after these march'd the Buckler-men, led by *Socrates* ; then the *Libyans*, arm'd like *Macedonians*. The Right was led by *Echecrates* the *Theffalian*, with the Horse who were under his Command ; on the Left next *Echecrates* march'd the *Gauls* and *Thracians* ; then *Phoxidas* with his *Greek* Mercenaries ; after these march'd the *Ægyptian* Phalanx. They plac'd forty Elephants to cover the Left-Wing, where the King was to be, and the other thirty three stood on the Right to cover the Mercenary Horse. *Antiochus* thus order'd his Battel : On his Right he plac'd sixty Elephants, to cover the extremities of that Wing, where he himself propos'd to stand, oppos'd to *Ptolomy*, giving the Conduct to *Philip* his Foster-Brother ; in the Rear of these were posted two thousand Horse, led by *Antipater* ; next these were the like number drawn up in form of a Tenaile ; after the Horse stood the *Candiots* in front ; then the *Greek* Mercenaries ; betwixt these stood the five thousand Men, that were arm'd like *Macedonians*, under the Command of *Byttacus* the *Macedonian*. His Left-Wing consisted of two thousand Horse, led by *Themison*. After these were the *Cardaces*, the *Lydian* Slingers ; and next those three thousand light-arm'd,

arm'd, who were under *Menedemus*. The *Cyffians*, *Medes*, and *Caramanians* follow'd; and to these succeeded the *Arabs*, and their Neighbour-People, which clos'd up to the Phalanx. The Right-point of the Battel was cover'd by the rest of the Elephants, which were conducted by *Myiscus*, who had been the King's Page.

In this order of Battel were the two Armies drawn up; while the two Kings, attended by their Officers and Favourites, went from Rank to Rank to animate their Troops. But forasmuch as they had plac'd their greatest Confidence in their Phalanxes, which may be call'd Legionaries; to these therefore they were more earnest in their Exhortations, wherein *Sofibius* and *Arfinoe* seconded *Ptolemy*; and *Theodotus* and *Nicarchus*, *Antiochus*; who were Chiefs of the Legionaries of the one and the other Army. In short, it may be concluded, that the Speeches of these two Princes were near the same, whereby to encourage their Troops; neither being furnish'd with stronger Reasons than the other; for they were but young Kings, and had never yet done any thing very memorable, out of which to collect Matter for their Exhortations; wherefore they labour'd to hearten them to the Battel, by laying before them the Prize of Glory that was to be won, and the Reputation of their Ancestors; and above all, made large Promises of Rewards to the Officers

cers in particular, and the Soldiers in general, to oblige them to their best performance in that occasion. Thus then the two Kings animated their Armies, partly by themselves, and partly by their Interpreters.

As soon as *Ptolomy* and his Sister *Arfinoe* were come to the Left-Wing, and *Antiochus* to the Right of their two Armies, attended by their Guards, they sounded to the Charge, and the Battel began with their Elephants: Some of those Beasts, on *Ptolomys* part, came at first boldly on to the Attack; and the Men who fought from the Turrets behav'd themselves well, fighting from thence with their Pikes; but the shock between the Elephants themselves was more remarkable, those Animals attempting one the other with an impetuosity hardly to be represented; for they fight after this manner: They first make proof of their Strength by engaging with their Teeth, and with a firm foot keeping their Ground, press one against another with their utmost strength, till by this contention one of them prevails, and compels the other to yield ground to his superiour Strength; whereby the Trunk being turn'd aside, he is forc'd, by endeavouring to disengage himself, to expose his Side and Flank to his Enemy, who fails not to hit him there, goring him with his Tooth, as Bulls do with their Horns.

But

But it came to pass, that *Ptolomy's* Elephants for the most part wanted Courage to stand the Shock; and as the Elephants of *Libya*, who can neither endure the Smell nor Braying of those of *India*; so these, frightened at the Strength and Size of the others, turn'd their backs before they came near them, putting *Ptolomy's* Regiment of Guards into disorder, who were drawn up behind them, upon whom they fell. In the interim, *Antiochus* leading about his Battalion of Guards, and getting before the Elephants, charg'd *Polycrates* at the head of the Horse; and at the same time the Mercenary *Greeks*, who were posted near the Phalanx, advanc'd against *Ptolomy's* Buckler-men, whose Order had been already broken by the Elephants. The Left-Wing of *Ptolomy's* Army being by this means worsted, turn'd their backs, and betook them to flight; but *Echecrates*, who commanded in the Right, and stood waiting to see the issue of the Dispute between the two Points, whereof we have been speaking, observing a thick Cloud of Dust drive towards him, and perceiving their Elephants would do nothing, commanded *Phoxidas*, who led the *Greek* Mercenaries, to advance, and charge those that were oppos'd to him, while he led the Horse about, and charge those that were posted behind the Elephants, and were cover'd by those Animals; whereupon attacking the Enemies Horse in Flank and Reer,

Reer, they put them to flight. Nor was *Phoxidas* and those with him less fortunate, who falling on the *Medes* and *Arabs*, had the like success.

Thus the Right-Wing of *Antiochus* beat, and the Left was beaten; and now albeit the Phalanxes on either side were depriv'd of their Points, they remain'd however entire, and held their Order, attending (betwixt Hope and Fear) the Event. *Antiochus*, we observ'd, where he fought on the Right, had the better; but *Ptolomy* retiring into the Phalanx, and appearing in view of both the Armies, much discourag'd the Enemy, and gave new Heart to his own People to prosecute the Battel; insomuch, that *Andromachus* and *Sossibius* caus'd their Phalanx to charge their Pikes, and advance. The *Affyrian* Soldiers did indeed for a while sustain the Charge; but those who were under *Nicarchus* hardly enduring the first Shock, were presently broken, and turn'd their backs. *Antiochus*, like a young Prince and unexperienc'd Captain, imagin'd because they had beaten the Enemy where he fought, and pursu'd them, that the Victory had been entire; but he was soon undeceiv'd by an old Officer, who advis'd him heedfully to consider what that mighty Cloud of Dust meant, that came from the middle Battel, driving towards the Camp; so that being soon given to understand the Success, he hastned towards his Camp, attended only
by

by his Troop of Guards; where finding his Army routed, he made speed to *Raphia*, under this Comfortable Persuasion only, that the Battel was not lost through any Default of his, but by the Cowardice of his Soldiers.

Ptolomy, thus winning the Day through the good Behaviour of the Phalanx, many of those that fled being cut off by the Horse and Mercenaries, who fought in the Right Wing, retir'd out of the Field, and remain'd that Night in the Camp. The next Day, after he had caus'd the Dead on his side to be bury'd, and had stripp'd the Enemy that remain'd on the place, he Decamp'd, and March'd directly towards *Raphia*. In the interim, *Antiochus*, Rallying and Forming into Troops such as he found, who had fled out of the Field, would have Encamp'd without the Walls; but finding they were for the most part gotten already into the Town, he thought it best to retire himself in likewise; and early the next Morning, Marching out with the Remains of his Army, took his March towards *Gaza*; where after he had Encamp'd, he sent to *Ptolomy*, to Demand the Bodies of those that were slain; which being obtain'd, he caus'd their Funeral Rights to be perform.

In this Defeat, *Antiochus* lost no less than ten thousand Foot, and above three hundred Horse, besides Prisoners to the number of four thousand: Thirteen of his Elephants were kill'd in Fight, two died after of their

Hurts

Hurts. On the part of *Ptolomy* fell about two thousand five hundred Foot, and seven hundred Horse; 16 of his Elephants were kill'd, and the remainder most of them taken. This was the success of the Battel that was fought near *Raphia*, for the Dominion of *Cælo-Syria*.

After *Antiochus* had caus'd the Slain to be buried, he March'd away with the rest of his Army homeward, while *Ptolomy* receiv'd to his Obedience *Raphia*, and the other Towns, which contended which should be first in their Submission to the Conqueror. In short, 'tis the Custom of Mankind on the like occasions, to Accommodate their Affairs to their present Fortune; but of all Countries, none produce Minds so pliable that way, as these of this Country, when Fortune will have it so; nevertheless, that Nation being dispos'd to a better liking of the Government of the *Ægyptian* Kings, it was a less wonder that they so frankly gave themselves up to *Ptolomy*. And indeed those of the *Lower Syria*, have ever born a singular Veneration for the Royal House of *Ægypt*. Wherefore, to acquire the Good Will of this Prince, they forgot no ways of Flattery, Honouring him with Crowns, and Adoring him with Sacrifices and Altars, and doing all things of that Nature.

When *Antiochus* was arriv'd at the City that bears his Name, he dispatch'd *Antipater* his Nephew, and *Theodotus Hemiolius*, his Ambassadors to *Ptolomy* to Negotiate a Peace; being

being doubtful least his Enemies should take the occasion to Attack him; and having no great Trust in the Multitude of his Subjects, by reason of his late Misfortune: He was jealous likewise, that *Achæus* might make use of the Conjunction to hurt him. As for *Ptolomy*, none of these Reflections imploy'd his Thoughts, who contenting himself with unexpected Victory, and pleas'd with the entire Recovery of the *Lower Syria*, so contrary to his Hopes, manifested a much greater inclination to Peace, than in Prudence he ought, through the natural Sloth that was in him, and the other Infirmities of Mind, to which he was subject through the whole course of his Life. Wherefore as soon as *Antipater*, and the rest of that Commission arriv'd, he presently consented to a Years Truce, after having first said some menacing things, and complain'd of the Injuries offer'd him by *Antiochus*: Then he dispatch'd *Sosibius* to ratify the Accord; and making about three Months stay in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to regulate and settle the Affairs of the several Towns and Cities, he left *Andromachus* the *Aspendian*, his Governour in those Provinces, and so departed for *Alexandria*, with his Sister, and Favourites; having put a period to the War, to the great Wonder of his Subjects, who so well knew his Life and Manners. In conclusion, after *Antiochus* had Ratify'd the Treaty of *Sosibius*, he prepar'd for the War against *Achæus*, as he had before determin'd.

About

About the same time the *Rhodians*, wisely improv'd the occasion of an Earthquake, that happen'd in that Island, which had Demolish'd their *Colossus*, their Ars'nal, and the greatest part of their Walls. But this Calamity, by their Wisdom, was Converted to a Benefit: So wide the difference is between the effects of thoughtless Negligence, and prudent Vigilance, whether it be in private or publick Affairs: For as the one often turns the best Success into a Calamity; so the other can extract Benefit out of the greatest Disasters: Thus the *Rhodians* aggravating their Sufferings and Losses to the World, by Ambassadors which they sent abroad for that purpose; that what by Treating in Publick, what by Private Persuasion, People (especially the Kings) were so much touch'd, and took so sensible a part in their Affliction, that they were not only reliev'd and supply'd, but were Treated with such Respect, that their Benefactors reckon'd themselves oblig'd by their own Generosity. *Hiero* and *Gelo* gave them seventy five Talents to rebuild the place of their Exercises; part of which Sum was pay'd down, the rest soon after. These presented them likewise with Silver Candlesticks, and other Vessels for Sacred Uses, with ten Talents for their Sacrifices, and other ten for the supply of the like Necessities; the whole Sum amounting to an hundred Talents. Furthermore, all who Navigated and Traded to

S *Rhodes,*

Rhodes, they exempted from Publick Duties and Tribute. They presented them likewise with fifty Catapults, or Cross-Bow, of three Cubits long each. In short, after they had shewn their Good Will in so many Noble Expressions of Bounty, as if they themselves had been oblig'd, they caus'd two Statues to be erected in the principal Market-place of *Rhodes*, where the People of that City were Crown'd by those of *Syracuse*.

King *Ptolomy* likewise promis'd them three hundred Talents of Silver, a million of Artabes, or Measures of Wheat; Materials for building of twenty Quinqueremes, and the like number of Triremes; as namely, forty thousand Cubits of Pine-Timber, a thousand pounds weight of Copper Money, three thousand pounds weight of Tow, three thousand Masts, three thousand Talents to re-edifie their *Colossus*; an hundred Architects, three hundred and fifty Artificers, and fourteen Talents by the Year, to pay for their sustenance. Furthermore, he gave them ten thousand Artabes of Corn, for the expence of their Sacrifices and Exercises; and twenty thousand of the like Measures of Corn, for the Service of their Fleet. In short, the greatest part of these particulars were soon deliver'd, and a third part of the Money in Hand.

Antigonus gave them ten thousand pieces of Timber, of sixteen Cubits long each piece; seven thousand Planks, of seven Cubits long each;

each; three thousand pounds of Iron, three thousand pounds of Pitch and Rosin, and a thousand Metreta's or Measures of Tar; further, promising them a hundred Talents of Silver. *Chryseis*, his Wife, gave them an hundred thousand Measures of Wheat, and three thousand pounds weight of Lead. *Seleucus*, Father of *Antiochus*, gave immunity to all the *Rhodians*, who Navigated on the Coast of his Dominions, ten Gallies equipp'd for War, and two hundred thousand Measures of Corn, besides many other things of value.

Prusias, *Mithridates*, and the rest of the Princes then Reigning in *Asia*; as *Lyfianias*, *Olympichus*, and *Limnæus*, made them proportionable Presents. In a word, 'tis impossible to recount the numbers of Towns, and People, who contributed to the Relief of the *Rhodians*, according to their Ability in that occasion. Infomuch, that whoever should have consider'd only, how suddenly that City rose from its Ruines, to that wonderful height of Riches and Splendor, both in Publick and Private, would be struck with astonishment. But when consideration is had to its Commodity of Situation, and the superfluity of all things that were supply'd them from abroad, that they might be sure to want for nothing; their flourishing State, and the Felicity to which they so soon arriv'd, will then cease to surprize us, and rather defeat our Expectations.

We have a little enlarg'd on this Subject, to exemplifie the *Rhodians* Love to their Commonwealth, who have shewn themselves worthy of Praise from all Men, and are an excellent Example for imitation. And this we have taken the liberty the rather to say, to the end that both Princes and People may consider and see how the Minds of Men are shrunk, and how little the Liberalities of our Days appear, when compar'd with the Munificence of our Forefathers; and to the end that when they have extended a small Favour, they may not exalt their own Generosity, and for little Acts of Grace, exact Remunerations and Honours, equal to what was due to Kings of Old; and that by weighing rightly eithers Merit, neither may want his due.

About the beginning of Summer, *Agetas* being Prætor of the *Ætolians*, and the Elder *Aratus* Elected to that Magistracy by the *Achaïans*, being now enter'd on his Charge, (I think at least, 'twas there we brake off our Discourse of the Social War) *Lycurgus* the *Spartan* returning home from *Ætolia*, being recall'd by the *Ephori*, who had found the Information false on which the Sentence of his Banishment was grounded, (he I say) in conjunction with *Pyrrhias* the *Ætolian*, who was at that time the *Elean* Prætor, resolv'd to fall on the Lands of the *Messenians*. *Aratus*, in the mean time, found the *Achaïan* Mercenaries corrupted by Idleness, and decay of Discipline

Discipline, and the Cities indispos'd to contribute towards the War, through the default of *Eperatus*, who had but ill discharg'd his Office of Prætor. Wherefore after fit Exhortations to the *Achaïans*, and wresting from them by force, as it were, a Decree for his purpose, he apply'd himself with his best diligence to prepare to prosecute the War. The *Achaïans* Decreed to entertain eight thousand Mercenary Stranger Foot, and five hundred Horse; and that they should levy at home three thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse; and that to compleat that number, the *Megalopolitans* should contribute three hundred Foot, call'd *Chalcaspides*, from their bearing Brass-Bucklers, and fifty Horse; and that the *Argians* should furnish the like number. It was further Decreed, that they should fit out a Fleet, and that three Ships should be sent towards *Acta*, and the Gulph of *Argos*; and three to hover about *Patra* and *Dymas*, and the Seas in the Neighbourhood.

While *Aratus* was busy'd in these Affairs, and making Provision for the War, *Lycurgus* and *Pyrrhias* led their Troops into the Territory of *Messenia*, having concerted by their Agents about the time they were to move with their Armies into the Field. But *Aratus* getting notice of their purpose, took with him the Mercenaries, to whom he joyn'd some chosen Troops, and with these March'd away in haste to succour the *Messenians*, and to

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proceed

proceed to *Megalopolis*. In the interim, *Lycurgus* takes *Calamas*, a *Messenian* Town, by Intelligence; from whence he prosecuted his March to joyn the *Ætolians*. But *Pyrrhias*, having drawn but a small Force out of *Elea*, was Encounter'd by the *Messenians* on their Frontiers, and worsted, and so compell'd to retire home again. Whereupon *Lycurgus*, defeated in his Hopes of increasing his strength by that addition, and not having Force sufficient of his own to put his Design in effect, after he had Forag'd the Enemy's Countrey, and done them what damage he was able, with the little strength he had, return'd back to *Sparta*, having done nothing worth mention.

The Enemy thus disappointed, *Aratus* who was provident to foresee the future, prevail'd with *Taurion* to order out fifty Horse, and five hundred Foot, enjoining the *Messenians* to provide the like number; with which Force, he propos'd to defend the Frontiers of the *Messenians*, *Megalopolitans*, *Tegæans*, and *Argians*: For that these Countries, lying in the Neighbourhood of *Laconia*, whenever the *Lacedæmonians* wage War in *Peloponnesus*, stand expos'd to the first shock of the Enemy. As to the Lands of *Achaia*, that lie towards *Elea* and *Ætolia*, those he resolv'd to defend with his Mercenaries, joyning with them some *Achaian* Troops.

Aratus

Aratus, having put his Affairs in this posture, dismiss'd the *Megalopolitans* home, by a Decree of the *Achaians*; for that having not long before been forc'd to leave their Country entirely ruin'd by *Cleomenes*; and albeit they were poor, and in no condition to do any thing, Publick or Private, nevertheless they possess'd still the same Courage and Greatness of Mind. But this begat great Disorders and Dissentions among them, as it seldom fails to happen in States or Private Families, when pinch'd with Poverty, and depriv'd of means to Prosecute what they would design. First, a Contention arose about the Structure of the Walls of their Town; some were for confining it to streighter limits, and so to build, that when they should come to erect the Walls, they might compass it without difficulty, and that in case of Hostility they might the better defend it. These remonstrating that their Town had not been lost, nor they undone by the Enemy, but through the over-great circuit of their Walls, and their want of numbers to Man them. Furthermore, they propos'd that the Rich, who had Possessions and Inheritances, should contribute the third part of their Estates towards the re-peopling the Town. Others were of a different Opinion, neither yielding to build the Town less than it was, nor thinking it reasonable that the rich should so contribute. But the Dispute was heightned on occasion of the Laws of *Pritanis*, a Person of

great Fame; who had been bred among the *Peripateticks*, and was sent by *Antigonus* to be their Legislator. But *Aratus* at length compos'd these Differences, and bringing them to Reason by all the Arts he could, intirely reconcil'd them; and had the Articles of Accord ingraven and plac'd on a Column near the Altar of *Vestæ*.

As soon as *Aratus* had united the *Megalopolitans*, he departed to go to the Assembly of the *Achaïans*, leaving the Mercenaries to the leading of *Lycus* the *Pharæan*, who was at that time Pro-Prætor of the Country. The *Eleans*, who were not pleas'd with *Pyrrhias*, procur'd to have his Place fill'd by *Euripidas*, who came to them from *Ætolia*; he taking the occasion of the Assembly of the *Achaïans*, drew out two thousand Foot and threescore Horse, and led them into the Territory of *Pharæa*, plundering and spoiling all along as he march'd as far as the Frontiers of the *Ægeans*, and having got much Booty, retir'd to *Leontium*, *Lycus* receiving Intelligence of what had pass'd, march'd out and got before him, with design to make him quit his Plunder; and Attacking him, kill'd above four hundred of his Party, and took two hundred Prisoners; among whom were *Phyffias*, *Antanor*, *Clearchus*, *Euanoridas*, *Aristogiton*, *Nicasippus*, and *Aspasius*, all Men of note; taking over and above, their Arms and Baggage. At the same time the General of the *Achaïan* Fleet,

Fleet, sailing to *Melycria*, took there no less than an hundred Prisoners; and after his return, he transported a Body of Troops to attempt *Chalcea*, the Inhabitants of which Town immediately Sallying out against him; nevertheless, he took two of their Ships with all their Men aboard; he made Prize likewise of a Brigandine near *Rhium*, with all the Soldiers and Rowers that were in her. And in that Expedition he took much Plunder both by Sea and Land, which produc'd a great Summ of Money, and so great plenty of Provision, that the Soldiers took better heart, in prospect of better Pay; and the People assurance to think, they should be now exempt from Taxes and Contributions towards the War.

And now it came to pass that *Scerdilaidas*, conceiving himself abus'd by King *Philip*, a good part of the Money that was due by the Stipulations that were concluded between them, being withheld from him, fitted out a Squadron of fifteen Ships, with orders to take by reprisal, what by agreement was his due. This Squadron came to the Port of *Leucas*, where on account of old Friendship they were well receiv'd; and here indeed they acted no Hostility, having no occasion given them. They took only *Agathynus* and *Cassander* of *Corinth*, who arriv'd at the Port in Vessels belonging to *Taurion*, and as Friends adventur'd into the Harbour; but these seizing the four Vessels, and making them Prisoners, sent them
away

away to *Scerdilaidas*, Ships and all. From thence they made sail for *Malea*, plund'ring all the Merchants Vessels they met in their way.

And now Harvest approaching, and *Taurion* taking no thought for supplying those Towns we mention'd with Succours, *Aratus* therefore with a chosen Band of Soldiers march'd to assist the *Argians* in their Harvest; and *Euripidas* drew out his *Ætolians* to Forage the Lands of *Tritæa*. But *Lycus* and *Demodochus*, Generals of the *Achaian* Horse, coming to understand that the *Ætolians* were march'd out of *Elea*, immediately gather'd a Body of Troops out of *Dymas*, *Patræ*, and *Pharæa*, whom joyning with the Mercenaries they had with them, they march'd and fell on the Lands of the *Eleans*; and drawing near to a Place call'd *Phyxium*, they order'd their Horse and light-arm'd Troops to Forage the Country, concealing the rest of their Forces in the foremention'd place; whereupon the *Eleans* marched all out against those that spoil'd the Country, and pursued them who seem'd to fly. *Lycus* in the mean time rises from his Ambush and attacks them, whom not able to withstand, but facing about at the first sight of them, the *Achaians* cut off to the number of two hundred, took about fourscore Prisoners, and so march'd home in safety with all their Booty. He, who commanded the *Achaian* Fleet likewise, making several descents

on the Coast of *Calydon* and *Naupactus*, pillag'd at pleasure all along the Country, and charg'd and routed in two occasions the Forces that came to the relief: In one of which he took *Cleonicus* of *Naupactus* Prisoner, who was soon enlarg'd without Ransom, as being a favourer of the *Achaïans*, wherefore he was not sold with the rest on his being taken.

At the same time, *Agetas* the *Ætolian* Prætor rais'd an Army out of his own Nation, with which marching into the Lands of the *Acarnanians*, after he had taken much Plunder, he made inroads and Forag'd the Country of *Epirus*, and then return'd home, and dismiss'd the *Ætolians* to their several Towns. Upon this the *Acarnanians* invaded the Territory of *Stratus*, where being surpriz'd with a causeless Terror, they retreated back with shame, howbeit without loss; the Country-People who made head against them, fearing to pursue them, jealous that their flight had been only to draw them into an Ambush. At the same time a piece of mock-Treason was acted in *Phanotis*, which was manag'd after this manner; *Alexander*, whom *Philip* had plac'd his Governour in *Phocis*, contriv'd with *Jason*, whom he had made Governor of *Phanotis*, this stratagem to catch the *Ætolians*; he made *Jason* treat with *Agetas*, the *Ætolian* Prætor, about the betraying to him the Citadel of that Place, which by Oath he confirm'd; whereupon *Agetas* coming with his

Æto.

Ætolians thither, and at the time concerted between them, chose out an hundred of the best Men of his Party, and sent them towards the Fort, while himself with the rest remain'd conceal'd not far off. *Jason*, who had *Alexander* himself in the Town ready to sally to his assistance, admitted (pursuant to the agreement) the *Ætolians* into the Citadel; whereupon *Alexander* immediately entring, surpriz'd and took them. *Ageas* coming to understand by Morning what had happen'd, march'd back with his Army; having been catch'd in the same Snare by which he had often taken others, being singular in those kinds of dishonest Arts.

During these Transactions in *Greece*, King *Philip* took the Town of *Bylazor* in *Pæonia*, which place commanded so intirely the way by which we go from *Dardania* into *Macedon*, that becoming Master thereof, he became thereby safe against all Attempts of the *Dardanians*; it being very difficult to invade *Macedon*, after *Philip* had got this Place into his possession, which gave him all the Inlets to that Country. As soon as he had strengthen'd it with a good Garrison, he dispatch'd *Chrysogonus* with expedition, to conduct a Body of new-raisd Troops out of the *Upper Macedon*; going himself to *Edesa* with those he had rais'd in *Bottia* and *Amphaxitis*. And as soon as *Chrysogonus* return'd with his *Macedonians*, he march'd and came in six Days to *Larissa*;
from

from whence continuing his march Night and Day, with reposing as little as possible by the way, he came before *Melitea*, which place he attempted to take by Scalade; while those within were so terrify'd at an Attack so surprising, that he had master'd the Town with little difficulty, had not their Ladders been too short. In which Matter their Officers were greatly to blame; for what is more reproachable, than to come rashly to the Assault of a Town or Fortrefs, without preparation of every necessary thing? As a right knowledge of the height of the Walls, and the like proper Information, whereby to strengthen their assurance of Success. Who will not therefore condemn these of Negligence and want of Fore-sight? Or, having themselves taken wrong measures, and committed it to others to pursue their mistakes in providing Ladders and other Machines, which are contriv'd and prepar'd without difficulty, and are of indispensable use in such Enterprizes; who, I say, can excuse them of being Authors of their own Shame and Reproach, who conceive such Orders? And what is more certain, than to see in these occasions every omission of our Duty punish'd? For the Error is no sooner committed when we see the Damage, and feel the Effects, which appear in divers manners. First, the bravest and most forward Men are hereby most expos'd, who being by this means compell'd to retire, the Enemy

re-

recovers heart and attacks them with assurance, and pursues them with advantage. This is confirm'd by infinite Examples; for of those, who are forc'd to retire in such occasions, we shall find more to perish, and be reduc'd to the utmost perils than to escape. And it must be confess'd, that such as act thus weakly contract to themselves the misfortune of never being afterwards trusted; incur a lasting hatred among the Soldiers, and teach the Enemy to be more on his guard. And such Errors do not only admonish the Spectators how to improve them, but afford instruction to those who hear the relation. Wherefore all Officers and Leaders, who shall be engag'd in the Conduct of the like Enterprizes, be hereby taught to proceed more regardfully. Nor is it difficult, by the help of a very little Science, to be Master of the means, whereby to compass exactly such heights and measures; as import us to know with assurance, when we have such designs to prosecute. But let us resume our Discourse, referring to another place what we purpose to deliver for the instruction of those who would not be deceiv'd when they engage in Actions of this nature.

King *Philip*, hopeless of succeeding in his purpose here, drew off and encamp'd his Army along the River *Enipeus*; ordering to be brought from *Larissa*, and the other Towns, all such Stores and Provisions of War, as during the Winter he had caus'd to be provided for

for the service of Sieges and attacking of Towns; his main design in the Expedition being to attempt the City of *Thebes*, call'd *Phthiotis*. This place is situate near the Sea, distant about eight and thirty Miles from *Larissa*. 'Tis a Frontier of *Magnesia* and *Theffaly*. The Territory borders on *Magnesia* on the side towards *Demetrias*; on *Theffaly*, towards that quarter that is inhabited by the *Pharsalians* and *Pheræans*. But forasmuch as the *Ætolians* were now Masters of that Country, and from thence made incessant Inroads, they greatly annoy'd those of *Demetrius*, the *Pharsalians* and *Larissæans*, spoiling and plundering as far as a place call'd the *Fields of Amyricus*. Wherefore *Philip*, concluding the Enterprize to be worth his while, resolv'd to spare no application whereby to become Master of that place. In order to which, he had provided an hundred and fifty extraordinary Catapults, and five and twenty other Engines for casting of Stones, and so march'd and sat down before *Thebes*; and forming his Army into three Divisions, took possession of the nearest Posts to the Town; one Division being posted on the Ground near *Scopius*, another about *Heliotropius*, and the third possess'd an Eminence that looks into the Town. These three Camps he united by Lines of Communication, which he fortify'd with wooden Redoubts, standing at about an hundred Paces distant one from another, wherein he plac'd good Guards for their
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defence. Then securing all his Stores and Equipage of War in one place, he caus'd his Machines to be drawn out.

During the first three Days, the Inhabitants shew'd great assurance by the brave resistance they made, whereby the Works advanc'd but little ; but after by incessant Attacks, which kept them continually in action, and a mighty number of Darts and Stones that had been cast into the Town, whereby the better half of the Besieged were either kill'd or wounded, their Resolution began to fail, and the *Macedonians* with more success, advanc'd with their Mines. Howbeit, tho' they wrought with their utmost diligence, they were five Days gaining the foot of the Wall, the Ground proving so difficult. But in the end, by working without intermission Night and Day, relieving each other by Parties, they had sapp'd about two hundred paces of the Wall, which they sustain'd by strong Posts or Props of Timber. But it so happen'd, that these Props being not of sufficient strength to sustain the Burthen, the Wall fell, before the *Macedonians* could apply Fire to consume them, as was their Custom. Then they wrought a Mine under the Ruines, to make a passage into the Town ; but as soon as the *Thebans* perceiv'd the Enemy preparing to force their entrance, they yielded. *Philip* by this success having secur'd the Frontiers of *Theffaly* and *Magnesia*, and taken much Booty from the *Ætolians*,
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his Army came then to confess, That *Leontius* had justly suffer'd; for it was now evident, That he had not done his Duty as he ought, with the strength he had at the Siege of *Palæa*.

Philip thus becoming Master of *Thebes*, sold the Inhabitants, and re-peopling it with a Colony of *Macedonians*, chang'd its Name to *Philippi*. Thus having succeeded in all his Enterprizes, new Ambassadors came to him to treat about a Peace, on the part of the *Rhodians*; also from *Chios*, the *Byzantines*, and from *Ptolomy* himself. But *Philip* reply'd, as he had done before, That he held the same disposition to give a period to the War, willing them to apply to the *Ætolians*, to know their purpose; but that in the interim he was resolv'd to pursue his Enterprizes. In order to which, receiving intelligence that the Ships of *Scerdilaidas* infested the Sea about *Malea*; that they treated all the Trading-Vessels as Enemies; and that contrary to the Treaty, they had seiz'd some of his own Subjects Ships in the Port of *Leucas*. He therefore Embarking on the *Euripus* with a Fleet of fifty Sail great and small; some equipp'd for War, others Vessels of Burthen; with this force pursu'd with great diligence the *Illyrians*, persevering in his purpose to press the War against the *Ætolians*, being yet totally ignorant of Occurrences in *Italy*: For about the time that *Philip* held *Thebes* besieg'd, the Romans

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were beaten in *Tuscany* by *Hannibal*, the news whereof had not yet reach'd *Greece*. - *Philip* coming too late to attack the *Illyrian* Fleet, sail'd to *Cenchrea*, from whence he sent his Vessels of War to cruize on the Coast of *Malea*, towards *Ægium* and *Patræ*, ordering his other Ships to steer towards *Lechæum* by the Cape of *Peloponnesus*, with instructions there to remain at Anchor, while he himself, accompany'd with his Friends and Favourites, made haste to *Argos*, to be present at the *Nemean* Games; at which time he receiv'd Letters from *Macedon*, imparting the news of the *Romans* Defeat in a great Battel, and that *Hannibal* was Master of all without their Retrenchments. This news *Philip* communicates to *Demetrius* of *Pharus*, and to no other, to whom he enjoyn'd all possible secrecy. *Demetrius* glad of the occasion, advis'd him thereupon to give a period to the *Ætolian* War, with what expedition he could; but his Opinion was, That he should prosecute his Design against the *Illyrians*, and prepare his Thoughts for an Expedition into *Italy*. He perswaded him, that such a Design would win him the Obedience of the whole *Greek* Nation for the time to come, that the *Achaïans* would submit through the Affection they bare him, and the *Ætolians* through fear, after the many Calamities they suffer'd by the War: That *Italy*, and his Voyage thither, would be his first step to the universal

versal Dominion, to which none had so great Right to pretend; and that the present Distresses of the *Romans* was a fair and most favourable occasion to incite him to the Enterprize.

Thus did *Demetrius* easily work on *Philip*, who was yet but young, and whose Affairs Fortune had hitherto espous'd; whose Mind was great, and he of a Race, that I, by I know not what kind of Destiny, above all others, yielded with ease to the transports of acquiring the Universal Dominion. *Philip* for the present, I say, communicated the news he had receiv'd to none but *Demetrius*: But soon after assembling his Friends, he fell to deliberate about a Peace with the *Ætolians*; to which *Aratus* appear'd well enough dispos'd; weighing, that by how much they had the better in the War, by so much was it likely they should better their Terms in a Treaty of Peace. Wherefore, without attending the arrival of Ambassadors, who were to act in that Negotiation, he dispatch'd to the *Ætolians* *Cleonicus* of *Naupactus*, whom he found attending the Assembly of the *Achaians*, and where he had remain'd ever since he had been taken Prisoner. Then taking with him what Ships he found at *Corinth*, he went with his Land-Forces to *Ægium*: But the better to hide his Inclinations to a Peace, he advanc'd towards *Lasion*; and taking a small Fortrefs that was built on the Ruines of that

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Place, made shew of a purpose to seize on *Elea*. After *Cleonicus* had made two or three Journies backward and forward, the *Ætolians* demanded a Conference, to which *Philip* consented. And having now his Mind totally wean'd from the War, he dispatch'd Letters to the respective Cities of the Confederacy, exhorting them to hasten their Deputies to the Assembly, to deliberate together about Peace. In the interim, he imbarck'd his Army for *Panormus*, a Port-Town of *Peloponnesus*, lying against *Naupactus*, where he Encamp'd, resolving to attend the Arrival of the Ambassadors, who were to compose the Assembly. But he went himself to *Zacynthus*, where he stay'd till he had notice of their meeting, and then return'd, after he had first by his single Authority settled the Affairs of that Island.

As soon as the Assembly was full, King *Philip* dispatch'd *Aratus*, *Taurion*, and certain others who had accompany'd them to the *Ætolians*, who at the same time held a General Assembly of their States at *Naupactus*, whither the Ambassadors likewise came; and after some Conference, whereby they became assur'd of the *Ætolians* being sincerely dispos'd to a Peace, they return'd to impart the News to *Philip*. But the *Ætolians* being in good earnest to put a period to that War, accompany'd them with their own Ambassadors, to persuade the King to come
over

over with his Army into *Ætolia*, to the end they might by conference give an issue to the Affair, which would be expedited with greater ease, when he should be so near. *Philip* mov'd by their Intreaties, pass'd over with his Troops, and came to a place within less than a League of *Naupactus*, where he Encamp'd; and securing his Army and Fleet with a good Retrenchment there, attended the result of their Debates. In the mean while, the *Ætolians* came flocking to them in Multitudes, confidently and without Arms. And because the place of Treaty was not above a quarter of a Mile from *Philip's* Camp, they held continual intercourse with him, by Persons impower'd by them to treat; and after a while, the King sent to them the whole Body of the Confederate Ambassadors, with Instructions to to yield a Peace with the *Ætolians*, on condition principally, that each Party should be confirm'd in the possession of the Places then held. After the *Ætolians* had declar'd their Consent to the Proposition, they enter'd into Debates touching the Articles that had regard to each one in particular: But of that we shall make no mention, as containing little of Importance, and shall only recite the Terms of a Remonstrance, made by *Ageus* of *Naupactus*, to the King and the Confederates, on their opening the Assembly.

He told them, that nothing so much imported the *Greeks*, as to shun all occasions of

War among themselves ; and that they ought to render Thanks to the Gods, that becoming now of one Mind, and leading each other as it were by the hand, like those who ford a River they have obtain'd a prospect of uniting in the general Defence of themselves and their Cities against the *Barbarians*, whose Designs they had so much cause to apprehend. That albeit they should not be able to give perpetuity to the present Union among the *Greeks*, it behov'd them at least in that Conjunction, to agree as one Man in the preservation of their Common Safety ; since none could be ignorant of the strength of the *Barbarians*, and the mighty War they were like to have on their hands with that People. That none, how unacquainted soever in the Affairs of the Commonwealth, but must discern, that nothing was more probable, than that whether the *Carthaginians* vanquish'd the *Romans*, or the *Romans* the *Carthaginians*, in the present War, the Conquerors would not rest satisfy'd with the Dominion of *Ita'y*, or *Sicily*, but prosecute their Designs further than they would be willing ; and at length as far as *Greece* it self: Wherefore he exhorted them, especially King *Philip*, to have an eye to the Danger that threatned them ; that the Task would not be insuperable, if instead of impairing the Forces of the *Greeks*, as he had hitherto done ; and rendring them by that means an easier Prey to their Enemies ; he would

would now lay their Affairs to heart, and do for them as for himself, and act in behalf of the whole *Greek* Nation, as if *Greece* were his Inheritance. That if he so conducted his Councils, he should have no cause to doubt of acquiring the general Affection of that People; of being by them abetted, and assisted, in all his Designs; and that Foreigners, terrify'd at the Firmness of their Fidelity to him, would be cautious how they invaded him. That if his Mind was bent on great Enterprizes, and he thirsted after Glory, he should extend his Prospect towards the West, and contemplate the War that had set all *Italy* in a flame; that he should watch the Event, and improve it to his advantage; and when Time should ripen his Affairs, generously aspire to the Dominion of the World. That the present Conjunction did not impugn that Design. In conclusion, he pray'd him, that if it were so that he had any remains of Displeasure against any of the *Greeks*, which might dispose him to new Hostilities, he would respite his Purpose to a Season of more leisure, and so provide that it might be always in his Power to renew, and give a period to the War with them. For if once he suffer'd the Tempest that was gathering in the West to reach *Greece*, it might justly be fear'd, that all these Treaties, Leagues, and Wars, which, as it were in pastime, had hitherto entertain'd them, would be then so little in their choice, that they might come

one day to ascribe it to the great Favour of the Gods, to be able to determine among themselves of Peace and War ; and to have it equally in their power, as their Wish, to be Judges of their own Differences.

This Speech of *Agelaus* prevail'd with the Confederates, especially King *Philip*, to desire the Peace more earnestly. For he, who was already shaken by the Counsels of *Demetrius*, heard nothing from *Agelaus* that did not sort to his purpose. Wherefore after he had adjusted the Conditions with the *Ætoli-ans*, and sign'd the Treaty, every one return'd home, carrying with them Peace in exchange for War. These things came to pass, namely, the Defeat of the *Romans* in *Tuscany*, the War of *Antiochus* for the *Lower Syria*, and the Peace of King *Philip*, and the *Achaïans*, with the *Ætoli-ans*, in the third Year of the Hundred and fortieth Olympiad ; about which time it was, that the Affairs of *Italy* and *Africk* began] to mix and have relation with those of *Greece*. For after this, neither K. *Philip*, nor any of the *Greek* Princes, form'd any Design, or amus'd themselves about Peace or War in *Greece* ; but all had their Eyes fix'd on *Italy*, as the Object of every one's Attention. And it was not long before the several People inhabiting the Isles of *Asia*, acted the same part ; for those who cou'd not brook the growing Greatness of *Philip*, and others who had any Contests with *Attalus*, had no more recourse

to *Antiochus* or *Ptolomy*, to Southern or Eastern Princes, but had their Prospect Westwards; some sending their Ambassadors to the *Carthaginians*, others to the *Romans*. In like sort, the *Romans* themselves, awak'ned by the Power and Prowess of King *Philip*, and being willing to obviate betimes the Danger that might grow from that Prince's Enmity, who might add new Evils to those which already sorely press'd them on all sides; resolv'd to dispatch Ambassadors into *Greece*. But forasmuch as we have already clearly explain'd, at what time, by what means, and what Counsels the Affairs of *Greece* came to be interwoven with those of *Italy* and *Africk*; after we shall have continued to relate the Transactions of *Greece*, to the time when the *Romans* were defeated at *Cannæ*, where we brake off our Discourse of the Occurrences of *Italy*, we purpose to finish this Book.

As soon as the Peace was ratify'd, and the *Achaïans* had created *Timoxenus* their Prætor, they return'd to their old Manners and course of Life; and the rest of the Towns of *Peloponnesus*, in like sort, fell to repair their publick and private Damages, to cultivate their Ground, re-edifie their Altars, establish their Worship, and restore their Laws and Customs. All which had been near utterly ruin'd and made desolate through the long War they had sustain'd: It having been the fate of the *Peloponnesians*, (who of all others are most dispos'd to a Life of Ease and Tranquility) to enjoy
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less of that Blessing than their Neighbours ;
 and of whom it may be said with *Euripides*,
Whose Life with War and endless Toil, is
vex'd.

Nor is it more than what in my Judgment seems reasonable to expect should befall them ; for what is more probable, than that a People aspiring after Dominion, jealous of their Liberty, and who would yield Precedence to none, should be ever embroil'd in Hostilities. One would have thought that the *Athenians*, after they were deliver'd from their Fears of the *Macedonians*, should have been at ease, and establish'd their Security on sure and lasting Foundations ; yet so it happen'd, that giving themselves up to the Counsels and Conduct of *Euryclidas* and *Micyon*, and secluding themselves from the Society of the other Cities of *Greece* ; what Flatteries, what Decrees of Honours and Praise (led by the Weakness of their Governours) did they heap on the Neighbouring Kings, especially *Ptolomy*, without regard to Decency or their own Honour, through the Folly of those who administred their Affairs ! *Ptolomy* had no sooner compos'd his Affairs in *Syria*, when he became oblig'd to wage a new War in his own Dominions. For after that Prince had put the *Egyptians* in Arms against *Antiochus*, wherein he was not ill-advis'd, if regard only were to be had to the occasion that then press'd him ; the sequel shew'd, that nothing could have been

more

more pernicious with respect to the future. For the *Egyptians* growing proud and overweaning of their Strength, after the Victory at *Raphia*, grew to withdraw their Obedience from the King; and conceiving their Power sufficient to withstand him, waited only for a fit Person to head them, to proceed to a Rebellion; and in short, did rebell soon after.

Antiochus, who, during Winter, had made mighty Provision for the War, early in the Spring pass'd over Mount *Taurus*; and entering into League with *Attalus*, prosecuted the War against *Achæus*. The *Ætolians*, to whom the War had not prov'd so fortunate as they had hop'd, were for a while well enough pleas'd with Peace; and, on that Consideration, they chose *Agelaus* of *Naupactus* Prætor, whom they believ'd to have been mainly instrumental in the Pacification between them and the *Achaians*; nevertheless, it was not long before that Peace distast'd them, and their Complaints brake out against *Agelaus*; murmuring, that they had now lost all occasions of bettering their Fortune, and enriching themselves by the Spoils of Strangers; and were become hopeless for the time to come, the Peace not being particular with some few Towns, but with the whole *Greek* Nation. But their Prætor, with wise Patience, enduring their foolish Reproaches, so moderated those Heats, that they submitted to his Authority, tho' with repugnance enough.

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As soon as the Peace was ratify'd, King *Philip* return'd by Sea to *Macedon*; where finding that *Scerdilaidas*, who had already seiz'd certain Vessels in the Port of *Leucas*, had lately plunder'd *Pissæum*, a Town of *Pelagonia*, with the same Prætext as before, of paying himself the Money that remain'd due; that he had further drawn to his Party the Towns of *Dassaretis*; that by Promises he had allur'd the People of *Phæbatis*; as, namely, *Antipatria*, *Chrysendiona*, and *Gertunta*; and had made Inroads on the *Macedonians*: *Philip* therefore first led his Troops against the revolted Towns, with Resolution however not to delay his march against *Scerdilaidas*, judging it to be of great moment to compose the Affairs of *Illyria*, in order to the Enterprizes he had conceiv'd, especially his Voyage into *Italy*. For *Demetrius* had so kindled his Ambition, that it became his meditation Night and Day, and was the subject of his Dreams, talking in his sleep of a War in *Italy*. While yet these Instigations grew not from the Love he bare to *Philip*, whose Affairs he little consider'd, but from his Hatred to the *Romans*, and a Regard to his own Ends, conceiving there was now no other means left him, whereby to regain his Dominion of the Island of *Pharus*. In conclusion, *Philip* departing with his Army, recover'd the Places we mention'd, together with *Creonium*, and *Gerrunte* in *Dassaretis*: And besides those, *Exchelane*,

belanæ, *Cerax*, *Station*, and *Bæi*, near the Lake *Lychnidius*. Furthermore, he made himself Master of *Bantia*, in the Territory of *Calicæni*, and *Orgysum* on the Frontiers of the *Pisfantines*; and after these Successes, march'd his Horse into Winter Quarters. It was during the same Winter that *Hannibal*, having spoil'd the best part of *Italy*, held his Quarters in *Apulia* near *Gerijon*, at which time *Lucius Æmylius*, and *Terentius Varro*, were created Consuls at *Rome*.

King *Philip*, in the mean time, calculating, that to further the Enterprizes he was projecting, he should stand in need of a good Supply of Ships and Sea-men; not that he conceiv'd himself a Match for the *Romans* by Sea, but to enable him to embark and transport his Troops, where he should think it best, whereby to take the Enemy by surprize, and when they least suspected him: Wherefore, finding the Vessels of the *Illyrian* Fashion were properest for his use, he caus'd forthwith an hundred of that sort to be built; and was one of the first *Macedonian* Kings who had order'd so great a Fleet to be provided. After he had rigg'd and equipp'd them with all things necessary, he assembled his Troops about the beginning of Summer; and when he had exercis'd his *Macedonians* a while in the Use of the Oar, he put to Sea. This was about the time that *Antiochus* march'd over Mount *Taurus*.

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After *Philip* had pass'd down the *Euripus* with his Army, and doubled the Cape of *Malea*, he arriv'd near *Leucas*, sailing by *Cephalenia*; when taking Harbour, he remain'd watching the Motions of the *Roman* Fleet, having a careful eye to every thing. But as soon as he became assur'd, that the Fleet at *Lilybæum* remain'd still at an Anchor, he weigh'd, and stood off to Sea, steering as if he were bound for *Apollonia*. But after they had pass'd the Mouth of the River *Loius*, (or rather *Aous*) which runs by the Walls of *Apollonia*, the Fleet was on the sudden terrify'd with a panick Fear, such as usually surprizes Armies by Land. It seems some of the Vessels in the Reer, who had touch'd in a Port of a certain Island, call'd *Saso*, lying at the entrance of the *Ionian* Sea, came up in the Night with the King to let him know, That by certain Vessels that came out of the Sea of *Sicily*, and arriv'd at the same Port, they were assur'd, that they had left the *Roman* Fleet at *Rhegium*, and that they were making the best of their way for *Apollonia*, with Orders to join *Scerdilaidas*. *Philip* therefore apprehending the *Roman* Fleet to be at hand, took the Alarm, and in a fright stood about with his Fleet, and return'd from whence he came, his Ships sailing dispers'd, and without any order. The next Morning arriving at *Cephalenia*, and being recover'd from his Fear, he told his People, That certain Affairs, that imported him to

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negotiate in *Peloponnesus*, had made him change his Purpose. The News however that had so terrify'd *Philip*, was not entirely false ; for *Scerdilaidas* being inform'd of *Philip's* great Naval Preparations during the Winter, had concluded that his Design was to fall on him : He had therefore given advice thereof to the *Romans*, and pray'd Succours from them ; so that the *Romans* had sent him ten Vessels out of the Fleet at *Lilybæum*, which Squadron was seen at *Rhegium* as they pass'd by : And if *Philip's* Surprise had been less, he might have succeeded better in his *Illyrian* Expedition. Furthermore, it is not improbable but that the *Romans* themselves, who were humbled by their Loss at *Cannæ*, might have fallen into his hands : But being terrify'd at the News, he made the best of his way to *Macedon* ; without Loss indeed, but not without Reproach.

But what *Prusias* did about the same time, merits to be recorded to his great Honour : Those *Gauls* whom *Attalus* had drawn out of *Europe* (having an extraordinary Opinion of their Bravery) to prosecute the War against *Achæus*, having deserted his Service, for Reasons we have elsewhere noted, fell to spoil and plunder the Towns about the *Hellespont*, wherein they proceeded with great Violence and Cruelty ; and coming to lay siege to the *Ilians*, the *Alexandrians*, who inhabited the neighbouring Country, behav'd themselves with

with great Reputation on that occasion; for sending out *Themistias* at the head of four thousand Men, he did not only raise the Siege, but forc'd the Enemy quite out of the *Trojan* Territory, by cutting off their Convoys, and opposing other ways their Designs.

Afterwards the *Gauls*, having taken *Arisba*, a Town of the *Abydenians*, attempted other Places of that Country, vexing them with continual Hostilities. Wherefore *Prusias* march'd at the head of an Army to attack them; and giving them Battel, gain'd a memorable Victory, where they were all cut off, their Wives and Children only escaping to their Camp. The Spoil he gave to his victorious Soldiers, and by that Success deliver'd the *Peloponnesians* from their Fears, and the great Danger that threatned them; and instructed those Barbarians by that Example, to be cautious for the future how they adventur'd out of *Europe* into *Asia*. The Affairs of *Greece* and *Asia* then were in the posture we have related. As to *Italy*, after the Battel of *Cannæ*, the People, both of the Towns and Country, for the most part, gave themselves up to *Hannibal*, as we have already observ'd.

But having now summarily recorded the Occurrences of the Hundred and Fortieth *Olympiad*, we will here give a period to that History; and after we shall have made a short Recital in the follow Book, of what hath been deliver'd in this, we purpose to treat about the Form of the *Roman* Commonwealth.

THE
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OF
POLYBIUS
THE
MEGELAPOLITAN.

Containing a
General Account
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS
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POLYBIUS's
General History
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WORLD.

VOL. III. BOOK VI.

By another Hand.

HE that treats about the *Republics* of the *Graecians*, which rising of a sudden, were as soon destroy'd, and suffer'd a contrary Change of their former Fortune, will find it easie to give a Judgment of
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the time to come, by representing what is past already. For every one having a natural Inclination to speak what he knows, it is not difficult to foretel the future, by Conjectures drawn from what has past before. But for the *Roman-Commonwealth* it is impossible to take a View of its present State, because of the Diversities that are therein, or foretell any thing in the future, because it cannot be understood either by the general or particular Inclinations of the People. It is therefore necessary to make an exact Enquiry, or a particular Search, if we would understand the fine and excellent Qualities, in which this *Republick* differs from all others. But since those which treat of this Matter with any Art or Method, propose three Forms of *Republicks* or *States*, whereof one is called *Kingly Government*, the other *Aristocracy*, and the third *Democracy*. I suppose I may with Reason enquire whether they speak of these three sorts of *Republicks*, as if there were no other, or as if these were better than any. For my part I think they do equally deceive themselves both in the one and the other, since it is apparent that the best Form of a *Republick* is that which is composed of all the Three. Reason does not only confirm the Truth of this, but Custom and Experience also; And *Lycurgus* establisht the

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Lacedemonian Republic after this Model. We must confess that there are other sorts of Estates besides, as *Monarchies* and *Tyrannies*; which, tho they seem to have in them something like to Kingly Government, are yet entirely different; and therefore all those which reign alone, usurp the Title of King as much as lies in their Power. There are besides certain *Republicks* who are govern'd by a *few*, and in Appearance resemble those, where the *best Men of Estates* govern, and yet to speak in a word, are very distant from it; and the same may be said concerning *Democracy*, or the Government of the People.

We shall find by the Particulars which follow, that what is here asserted is nothing but Truth; for we ought not to believe that the Government, where one alone Commands, ought to be called Kingly Government, but that only which is given voluntarily, and where the Authority is not so much obtain'd by Fear or Force, as by Reason & Council. Nor ought we to believe that the Name of *Aristocracy* should be given to that Government, where a few Persons rule all; but to that only where the Wisest have the Authority, in consequence of a prudent and regular Election. Nor ought we to give the Name of a *Popular Estate*, or the Go-

vernment of the People, with any Colour of Reason, to a Republick where the People have Power to do what they please, or what they propose; but where they maintain the Religion of their Countrey, Honour the Aged, and Obey the Laws. And at last that only ought to be call'd a *Popular Estate*, where the Republick enjoys the Benefit of many above the rest. Thus it may be said that there is six sorts of *Republicks*. Three of which are well known to all the World, and of which we shall afterwards discourse; and three, which resemble or are like them; the Government of One alone, that of a Few, and that of the Multitude. The first is that *Monarchy*, which establisheth it self without Skill, and as it were by an Instinct of Nature; That which follows, and takes its Birth from it, is *Kingly Government*, when so much Art is advanced as to correct its Faults. But when *Kingly Government* embraceth those Vices which easily ruin it, I call it *Tyranny*, and from the Ruin of these two, *Aristocracy* springs up, which does easily convert it self into *Oligarchy*. But when the Multitude happen to be so far enraged, as to revenge the Injuries of the great Ones, done against them in the time of their Government, a *Popular State* ariseth, or an Authority in the Hands of the People. And at last the

Insolence

Insolence of the People, and the Contempt of the Laws, does create the Rule or Power of the ignorant Multitude. We shall easily find what is here said to be true, if we look into the Beginnings, Births, and Changes of Nations. For after all, he that will understand the Natural Beginnings of every *Republick*, will also understand their Growth, and their most flourishing Estate; the Change and End of every one, when, how it happen'd, and to what sort of State, the Form of the Republick will be reduc'd. This Discourse will particularly agree to the Republick of the *Romans*, because it was founded at first according to the Laws of Nature, and receiv'd its Augmentation from the same Principle. ✓

I deny not but *Plato*, and other Philosophers, have treated with great Accuracy of the Changes of one Republick into another; but since they are understood by few, by Reason of the Prolixity of their *Treatises*, and the Variousness of their *Discourse*, we will endeavour to comprehend in few Words what they have largely writ, as far as the Nature of an *History* will permit and allow, and what shall be necessary for the Information of those that read them. And if any Person will make a general Deduction from those Particulars, we shall afterwards treat of, it will give

a full Satisfaction to those Doubts that may now be made. To what then are we to attribute the Beginnings of *Civil Societies*? And from whence shall we derive their first Original? As often as Men perish'd, either by Innundations, Plagues, or the Sterility of the Earth, which had not only hapned already, but were likely to happen often; their whole Discipline, Customs, and Constitutions, perish'd with them. But when from their Seed, by Succession of time, a Multitude was sprung up, they did as Beasts do, assemble together in Herds and Flocks of each Species, and so strengthen the Feebleness of their Nature, by coming all into one Body. And afterwards, they who were superiour to others by Courage or Strength of Body, obtain'd Power and Command over others. And since we see the same in other Animals, who are not govern'd by Opinion, but the Instinct of pure Nature, we ought to esteem it no otherwise than as the Work of Nature it self. In short, the most Stout and Robust among them; as Bulls, Stags, Wolves, serve them for Conductors and Leaders; and 'tis most probable that Men at first did the same thing when they were got together, and followed those Leaders who had most Courage, and possess'd themselves of what they were capable of effecting, which you may justly

justly call Power. But when afterwards, in Success of Time, these Assemblies became Customary, *Kingly Government* took its Original, and they begun to understand Honesty and Justice, and those things which were contrary to them.

You see now how Republicks begun, and from whence they took their Original. As Male and Female had a Natural Inclination of Love to one another; from thence came Children; and when some of those their Parents had nourish'd and brought up did not render Reciprocal Kindness, but on the contrary, anger'd them both in Words and Actions; 'tis certain that they who saw so rude a Treatment, and knew what Pains and Care Parents had taken, grew angry also themselves. For since Man differs from other Animals by his Understanding and Reason, it is very probable he could not be indifferent to such a Disorder, and so insensible, as other Animals are in the like Case.

And 'tis certain, that all who saw it, did rigorously condemn such a Fault, being apprehensive that the same Mischiefs might befall themselves. Or if any have deliver'd another out of *Danger*, and instead of *Benefit* receiv'd, should return an *Injury* to him that did it, is it not certain that such a Man would incur the Anger of every Body, as an *Ungrateful Person*, and would

would not every Man Pity his Neighbour so barbarously used, and fear the same for themselves? From hence arose in every Mans Mind a Sense of *Duty*, and the beginning and end of *Justice* Consists in the reflection Men make upon the *Force* or *Obligation* of this *Duty*.

The same thing happens when a Person not differing from others, either in Habit or Diet, but living after the same manner, without disdaining to speak to the People. And his Successors finding themselves secure with all Provisions necessary for Life, and a great deal more than they have occasion for, suffer themselves to be Transported with *Passions*, and the Excess of the *Goods* they enjoy. And this gives them ground to believe that *Princes* should go more richly Habited than their *Subjects*, and take other kinds of *Pleasures*, That their *Table* should be serv'd with greater *Pomp*, that prohibited Loves are permitted to them, and that none ought to contradict them. And by these and other means, having drawn upon themselves the Hatred and Aversion of the People, *Kingly Government* degenerates into *Tyranny*, and they presently begin to form Designs and *Conspiracies* against them that Govern. Nor are they the worst of the Citizens who fall into these Enterprises, but the most Generous and
 Bold

Bold, for such they are, who are least capable to support the Injuries and Injustice of Princes ; And at last, the People having found Leaders, begin also to conspire the Ruin of Kings for the fore-mentioned Reasons. When they have Abolished the Power and Dominion of one Person alone, *Aristocracy* begins, or the Government of the best or richest People, for the People immediately give away the Authority to them, and choosing them for Governours, follow their Conduct, as a Recompence for the Extermination of *Tyrants*. These Men contenting themselves with the Honour of having the Administration of *Publick Affairs* put into their Hands, prefer the *Interest* of the *Publick* above all things, and regard the concerns of it, with the same Care and Affection that they do their own *Particular Affairs*. But when their Children afterwards receiving the Power of their Parents, have neither sense of the mischief, nor Experience of the Equality, or Liberties of the Citizens, but being bred from their Youth up among the Honours of their Fathers, some abandoning themselves to Covetousness, and others to Debauchery and Villany, do at last convert the Government of an *Aristocracy* into an *Oligarchy*. That is, the Government of the best People into the hands of a few,
and

and when they have stirred up the same Passions and Rage of the People, as against Tyrants, they perish as Tyrants.

Whensoever any Person observing the hate and aversion of the People towards them, had the Boldness to put a Check to them, either by Word or Action ; The Multitude at the same time Obey'd him, and favour'd his Enterprize. But after they had kil'd some and Banished others, they durst not give up the Republick to the Government of a King, because they were afraid of the same Outrages they had receiv'd from the former, nor to Many, because the Excesses they had been guilty of, were still fresh in their Minds. When therefore, they could hope for nothing better than themselves, they passed the *Government out of a few* into their own Hands, creating a *Democracy* or Popular Estate ; And this continues as long as there remains any who are sensible of the Power of a few, and nothing is in greater Veneration among them, then the Equality or Liberty of the Citizen. But after the Death of those, when a new People shall arise, and *Democracy* has pass'd to their Posterity ; They begin to disregard Liberty and Equality, because they are accusom'd to it, and ill Minds spare for no efforts, to obtain a Superiority over others. This Vice is very ordinary to
Men

Men of Estates, for when being ambitious after Honour, and withal unable to obtain it either of themselves or by Vertue!, they fall to spend their Riches in Feasting and Bounty, (and endeavour to Corrupt the People by that means. And after they have gained the Majority by Liberalities which they are all greedy of, and indeed feed upon, the *Democracy* begins to sink, and nothing but *Fury* and *Violence* succeeds in the place of it. For the People, being accustomed to live upon other Mens Goods, and founded their Hopes upon Rapine, having met with a Bold and Courageous Leader, whose Poverty had hindered him from arriving at Publick Offices or Trusts, change the *Popular State* into one *Furious* and *Violent*, and being United into one Body, they demonstrate their Fury by Murders, Banishments, and by the Division of Lands; till such time they meet with some Body that Usurps the Sovereign Rule and Power.

Behold here the Revolution, of States and *Republicks*, Behold here the Natural Order according to which *Republicks* are Chang'd and turn'd back again into their first Being. He that can well Comprehend all this, may perhaps be Deceived as to the time, but provided

vided his Judgement is Impartial, and his Mind disinterested, he will not be much mistaken in the Prognostication of the State, he makes his Observations upon: *Viz.* Whether they are nearer to their Height, or their Ruine, and into what at last they will be Chang'd. As for the *Common-Wealth* of the *Romans* we may see by this means how it was at first *Establisht*, how afterwards *Increased*, and how it came to this most Flourishing Estate we now find it in, and at last the Change which will one day happen to it. For if any Republick be Establisht and Augmented according to the Laws of Nature, it is chiefly the *Roman*, and will Change some time or other according to the same Method. But what we shall now Treat of, will afterwards give us a clear Light into the Matter.

- ✓ We shall now speak something of the Laws made by *Lycurgus*, because this Discourse is not far Remote from our Design. This Great Man had Observ'd that all things happen'd by an Inevitable Law of Nature, and Judged that every Form of a *Republick* which was simple, and had no Subsistence but by one of these kinds, was subject to Change, because it easily falls into Vice, to which it has the most Natural Inclination. For as Rust and the Worm, are Natural to Iron and Wood,

Wood, which do Corrupt and Destroy them, so that if they cannot be Destroyed by things happening from without, they Perish nevertheless by things drawn from themselves. Even so by the Order of Nature, some Vice or other is born in the Form of every State, and always accompanys it, and is at length the occasion of its Ruine, whether it be *Kingly Government*, *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy*, *Oligarchy*, *Democracy*, or the Blind and Furious Power of the Rude Multitude. It is Impossible to hinder the falling of a Commonwealth into those Vices it is Naturally addicted to, and by Consequence to hinder the Change that happens upon them, as we have already said. *Lycurgus* therefore foreseeing all this, did not Establish his Commonwealth according to one single Form, but Assembled all the Virtues and Qualitys of the best sort of *Republicks* into one, to the end that every thing might be so ballanc'd by another, that when one was ready to fall into the Vice which it was most inclined to, the other should retain it at the same time; so that by this means the *Republick* being equally sustain'd, should not incline or bend to any side, but be like a Ship when the Wind equally blows upon her on both sides. The fears which their *Kings* had of the *People*, they being themselves a part of the Government in
this

this *Republick*, hinder'd them from abusing their Power, and the People were hinder'd from committing any Ontrage against their *Kings*, by the Fear of the Magistrates, who always embrac'd the Just Party, because they were promoted into this Rank, by Virtue alone. And this is the Reason why the Magistrates maintain'd their antient Discipline in Strength and Vigor, because the *Senate* always took the weaker part, by which Means the Ballance quickly turn'd on the other side. Thus *Lycurgus* considering both the beginning and end of things, laid the Foundation of the *Lacedemonian Commonwealth* upon so sure a *Basis*, that it has preserv'd its Liberty longer than any other has ever done.

As for the *Romans*, tho they have arriv'd at the same End, in the establishing of their Commonwealth, they have not done it by the Force of *Reason* and *Discourse*. But by choosing that which seem'd to them of most Advantage; and being taught by their own Misfortunes, after many Dangers and Battels, are come up to the height of *Lycurgus*, and have settled the finest Form of a Commonwealth that has ever been seen till this present time. It is the Duty of a good Judge to esteem Historians not by what they have forgot, but by what they have

have advanc'd, so that if some things may be found in them which are not true, we must think it done out of Ignorance. But if there be nothing but Truth, we ought to persuade our selves, that what we find neglected, was not done by Ignorance but Reason.

The Three Forms of Republicks we have so often mention'd, Compose, or make up that of the *Romans*, and they do so equally contribute thereunto, and in a manner so proper and convenient to the Establishment and Administration of all things, that the *Romans* themselves cannot tell whether the Entire Body of their State be *Aristocracy*, *Democracy*, or *Kingly Government*. For when we cast our Eyes towards the Power of the Consuls, one would think the Power to be either *Kingly* or *Monarchick*: When we consider the Senate, you would believe it an *Aristocracy*; and if you regard what concerns the People on their part, you would Judge it to be a *Democrrey*, and the Rights and Priviledges of each Party are such, whether past, or present, without any great exception.

While the Consuls are in the City, they dispose of all things which concern the Publick, 'till such time as their Troops are in the Field. All the other Magistrates depend upon, and obey them, ex-

cept the Tribunes. They give Audience to Ambassadors in the *Senate House*, and as often as 'tis necessary to deliberate upon any Affair, it is their right to propose it; and to Execute the Ordonnances of the Senate. And besides, they take care of all those Publick Affairs which should be done by the People. It is their *Privilege* to call Assemblies, and to propose what is to be Ordained, and afterwards to Establish the *Laws* according to Majority of the Peoples *Suffrages*. But besides all this, they have almost an Absolute Power in all *Affairs of War*, whether it be for Preparation. Conduct, or Expedition. They have Power to give what Orders they please to the Auxiliary Troops of their Allies, to put in Collonels and Captains, to raise Forces, and Compose their Armies. They can punish, by their sole Authority, all those that bear Arms under them, Pay the Army, and spend what they please out of the *Publick Treasury*, and for that purpose have always a *Questor* along with them, who makes Prompt Payment of all their Orders. So that one may justly say, if we regard this Part of the *Republick*, that the State of the *Romans* depends entirely upon one, and that his Authority is Royal, and Emulates that of a King. But if any one of these, or those we shall mention, have been chang'd
some

some-time after, or at this Day, that makes nothing at all against what we have Asserted.

As for the Senate, they take care of the Publick Treasure, order all the Revenues of the Empire, and all the Expences of the Publick, for the *Questors* cannot dispose of Money, not so much as for the most common use, without an Ordonnance of Senate, except it be done in the Name of the Consuls. The Expences of the Censors for Repair of Publick Edifices, is done by the Authority of the Senate, and they can do nothing without their Order. The Senate takes Cognizance of all the Crimes committed in *Italy*, which deserve publick Punishment, as *Treasons*, *Conspiracies*, *Poysonings*, *Assassinations*, &c. If any particular Person, or any City of *Italy*, have any Quarrel, Difference, or Controversie, or if any want Protection or Succour, the Senate takes care of all that. If Ambassadors are to be sent out of *Italy*, whether it be to Accommodate Differences, make Remonstrances, Command in an Enterprize, or declare War, all this is in the Power and Priviledge of the Senate. When the Ambassadors of Strangers Arrive at *Rome*, it is the Office of the Senate to see their Commissions, take care of their Treatment, and to return an Answer, and the People have no Right at

all in any of these things. And therefore if any Man come to *Rome*, when both the *Consuls* are absent, he will immediately say, the *Roman Commonwealth* is an *Aristocracy*: And many of the *Greeks*, and some *Kings*, are of the same Opinion, because they have had no *Transactions* with the *Romans*, which have not been confirmed by the *Senate*.

These things being so, who would not have the Curiosity to understand what the People have to do in the *Commonwealth*, seeing the *Senate* has so great a Power ; and the *Consuls* within the City have not only the Preparations of *War* in their own Hands, but are Managers of the *War* it self with Sovereign Authority? But notwithstanding all this the People have a great Part in the *Commonwealth*. For none but they dispose either of Rewards or Punishments, the *Places* or *Promotions* of the *Commonwealth*, and of the Lives of Men. * * * * *

Those who know not the Difference of Things, or if they do, turn it into Abuse, do nothing according to Reason ; for were it reasonable that both the *Good* and *Bad* should be put into the same Degrees? The People then do judge and Amerce ; and when any great Punishment is to be impos'd, and chiefly upon those who exercise great Offices in the Magistracy, it is done

done by the People. Besides, there is none but they that condemn unto Death; In the Proceedings of which, the Custom of the *Romans* is Remarkable, and Worthy of Praise; For those who are accused of any *Capital Crime*, have Liberty while their *Process* is making to retire in the Face of the People, and go voluntarily into *Banishment*, and one of the *Tribunes*, who judges of their Affairs always keeps his Suffrage in Reserve. Or else they may stay at *Naples*, *Praneste*, *Tivoli*, and other Cities in Alliance with the *Romans*, without any Punishment. And moreover, the People give Honours according to every ones Merit, which is a fine Recompence of *Virtue* and *Honesty* in this *Commonwealth*. They have also Power to approve or reject the Laws proposed to them, to deliberate upon *Peace* and *War*. And whether *Alliances* are to be made, *War* finish'd, or *Treaties* set on Foot, it is in their Power either to Ratifie or Break them. So that if we consider the *Commonwealth* of *Rome*, by the Power of the People, one may say the People have the greatest Share in the *Government*, and that it is a *Democracy*.

You see in what manner the *Commonwealth* of *Rome* is composed of the three Forms of *Republicks* we have spoken of before, we shall now shew you how each

Party succours the other, or oppose themselves against the Enterprizes or Attempts of the other. When the *Consul* is departed, and gone to the *War*, with the Power we have already mention'd, it looks like an absolute Authority, both to make and finish the *War*; and yet notwithstanding he has need of the *Assistance* both of *People* and *Senate*, or else he cannot make an end of his Enterprize. For he always has occasion for some *Legion* or other; and they cannot be sent without an *Order of the Senate*, as likewise neither *Provisions*, *Cloaths*, nor *Money* to pay the *Soldiers*; so that the Designs of the *Consuls* cannot succeed, if the *Senate* either oppose themselves, or declare against them. And besides this, it depends absolutely on the *Will of the Senate*, whether the *General* shall execute his Enterprize or no; for when the Year is ended, they have Power either to continue him in his Office, or send a Successor. They can also exalt the Conqueror, and make him appear in greater Lustre, or Humble and Abase him, and make him appear less than he is; and indeed no Body can obtain the Honour of a *Triumph*, (by which the Representations of the Actions of the *General* are display'd before the *Eyes of the Citizens*) without the Consent of the *Senate*, and their giving Money for that

End

End and Purpose. Now, because the *People* have Power to finish the *War*, the *Consuls* have need of their Consent above all, and especially if they are in distant Countrys, or the Extremities of the Earth. For the *People*, as I told you before, confirm or break *Treaties*; and what is more considerable, when the *Consuls* are out of Authority, they must give an Account to them, of all they have done in every Province. So that neither the *Consuls*, *Senate*, or *People*, can fall into Contempt.

But notwithstanding the *Power* of the *Senate*, yet above all things in the Administration of the Publick, they ought to regard the *People*; for they cannot take Cognizance of the *greatest Affairs*, nor punish with Death those Crimes which are committed against the *State*, if their Ordinances are not confirm'd by them. The *People* have also the same Power in things which regard the *Senate*: For if any one propose a Law, to diminish the Power the *Senate* ought to have by ancient Custom, or take away any of their Prerogatives, or do an Injury to any particular Senator, the *People* have Power either to receive or reject such Laws. This is also a certain Rule, that if the *Senate* resolve upon any thing, or would assemble themselves, they can neither perform the one or the other ;

if only one of the Tribunes oppose himself. The Office of the Tribunes is to execute what the People resolve upon, and to have a Regard principally to their Wills; and for this Reason the *Senate* fears and stands in awe of the People.

In the same Manner, if the People give up themselves to Pride or Insolence, the *Commonwealth* knows how to remedy the Evil; For as soon as any Party begins to create Disorders, and assume a greater Power than they ought to have; so much as no Party is absolute, but can easily hinder the Enterprizes of the other, they cannot get the Ballance or Superiority one of another. So that the *Republick* continues always in the same State, seeing they know how to repress one Party, by the Incessant Jealousies of the other, lest by any Means their Power should come to be weakned or destroy'd.

After the *Romans* have chose their *Consuls* they create *Military Tribunes*. They choose 14 out of those who have been five Years in the War, and ten more of those that have carried their Arms ten Years. For all their *Citizens* must bear Arms till the Forty-sixth Year of their Age. The Horse must serve ten Years, and the Foot sixteen, except those who are not worth above 70 *Livres*, and those they reserve for the *Marine*. But if the *Commonwealth* have

have an extraordinary Occasion, the Foot are bound to serve 20 Years.

None can exercise the Office of a Magistrate, that has not serv'd ten Campaigns. When the *Consuls* have occasion to raise Soldiers, they cause Proclamation to be made, that all that are able to bear Arms shall assemble together at such a time; and this they do once a Year. When the Day is come, and the *Romans* who are able to go to War, are assembled at the *Capitol*; the youngest of the *Military Tribunes* divide them into four Bodies, according to the Order of the People, or of the *Generals* of the Army, because they first divide their Troops into four Legions. And the four *Tribunes* who were first chose, are order'd into the first Legion; the three next for the Second; the four next after for the Third; and the last for the Fourth. In the first Legion are two of the oldest made *Tribunes*; in the second are the three next; in the third the two next after them; and in the fourth the three last.

After the Legions are thus chose, and divided in such sort, that every Legion has the same Number of Leaders; the *Tribunes* of each Legion, being sat at a distance, draw the *Tribus* (wherein the Names are contain'd) by Lot. They are call'd as they are drawn, and afterward

ward they choose four young Men of the same Age and Stature. The Tribunes of the first Legion chuse first; those of the Second, the second, and so of the rest; except the Number of the *Triarii*, which never changes. The Youngest are oblig'd to wear a Sword, and carry a small Javelin, with a Target; the Target is firm, being made for that purpose, and big enough to Defend him that carries it, for it is round, and a Foot and a half Diameter. Besides this, the *Velites* wear a light Head-Piece, on the top of which, they commonly put a Wolf's Paw, or something like it, which serves both for a Covering, and a Mark for the Captains to know them upon occasion. The Javelin of the *Velites* is of Wood, and commonly about Two Cubits long, and a Finger thick, 'tis armed with Iron about half a Foot, and at the Point so fine, that it bends at the first blow, so that when they Lance against their Enemies, they *can't* use the same Weapon again, otherwise it would serve both, and he that Lanceth would find his Enemies Weapons to Fight against himself.

The next to these *Velites* are the *Hastati*, and they are appointed to carry the Arms which they keep in their houses, and chiefly the Buckler: Its Superficies, bending outwards, is two Foot and a half,

and

and four Foot long, or at farthest does not exceed half a Foot more: It is made of two Boards glewed together, covered with a thick Cloth, glewed after the like manner, and over all the rest a Calves-Skin; round it there is a Border of Iron, to defend it against all cutting Strokes, and give it shape. In the midst there is an Iron Shell, or Boss, to sustain any blow of a Stone, or the push of a Lance, or any other Arms whatsoever. The *Spear-men* have, beside the Buckler, a *Spanish Sword*, which they wear on the right Side, fit either for thrusting or cutting, with an Edge on both sides, made of a strong well-temper'd Blade. Beside all this, they carry two great Javelins, a Brass Helmet, and Armour to cover their Thighs and Legs; some of these Javelins are thicker, some more slender. Of the largest sort, the round ones were of four Fingers Diameter, and the others as much on the sides; the lesser sort resemble our common Darts. These every Soldier carries, with the Arms before-mentioned. The Shaft of these Javelins is three Yards long with an Iron in form of a Hook, and pointed at the end, of an equal Length with the Shaft. This Iron, which reaches as far as the middle of the Shaft, is firmly secured, and rivited with Nails, to prevent its being loosned, or breaking by any Accident

dent where it is joyned. On the top of their Helmet is fastned a small Coronet, or Circle of Iron, with three Feathers, red or black, in the midst, a Foot and a half in Length, which towring so far above the Head, make those who wear them appear big and terrible to the Enemies. The ordinary Soldiers wear on their Breast a Plate, twelve Inches on all sides; but those who are worth more than one Hundred and Fifty Pounds Estate, wear a Coat of Mail instead of this Breast-Plate.

The *Principes*, and the *Triarii* bear the same Arms, except that the *Triarii* instead of Javelins carry a sort of Half-Pike. Out of these Fighting Men, except the youngest, which were the *Velites*, are Chosen Ten Commanders, all Experienced in the Trade of War, and after this, by a second Election, Ten more. All these Officers have the Title of Captains, with Power to Nominate Ten Serjeants in their Division. Next, according to their several Ages, the whole Body is divided into Ten Parts, exclusive of the *Velites*, and each Division hath Two Commanders, and Two Serjeants out of those before Chosen. The *Velites* are equally distributed to each Party, and each Part have the Name of a Band, Company, or Colours given to it, and the Captains are called Centurions. These
chuse

chuse each in their Respective Companies, Two Ensigns, the most Robust and Brave Fellows they can find. Doubtless it is a very prudent Method, to place two Commanders to each Division, for considering all Uncertainties, how either may behave themselves, and the Risques of War, it may not be safe to suffer Companies, to hazard the want of a Commander. The Eldest of these Captains, or he who is first chosen, Leads in the Right, and the other on the Left, and either in the absence of his Partner, leads the whole Body. The Qualities which the *Romans* desire in a Commander, are not so much Adventurous Boldness, as Skill in Military Affairs, good Conduct and Counsel. Nor do they ever set so high a Value on those who are forward to Engage and Expose themselves freely, as those who resist an Enemy when he presses them, and rather dye, than quit their Post

In the same manner they divide their Cavalry, into Ten Parts, each of which has Three Captains, who chuse Three Lieutenants of their Troops. The eldest or first Elect command the Troops, and the others are but Decurions, or Commanders of Ten. In the absence of the eldest Captain the second acts in his place. The Armour of the Horse is the same with the *Greeks*. Formerly they did
not

not wear Cuirasses, but a sort of Breeches. By this means they were lighter, and cou'd dismount more readily, but Fighting thus unarmed were more exposed to danger. Their Javelins were useless to them for two Reasons; *first* because slender and bending with their weight, they were subject to be broke by the Agitation of the Horse. The *second*, because being Armed with Iron at one end only, they were only proper for a single Blow, and being broke on one side, were render'd useless. They bore a Buckler made of an Oxes Hide, which resembled certain Loaves stuck through, as is used in Sacrifices. And these being not firm enough to make any great Opposition, were of little use at best; but if they happened to be thorough wet, by a Shower of Rain, became wholly unserviceable. For this Reason they laid all these things aside, introducing the *Greek Arms*, by which they are able to secure their Blow, the Javelin being firm, and capable of being used on either side. The *Romans* finding by Experience how convenient these Arms were, soon embraced them, no People being more Docil, or apt to change, when in the stead of their Ancient Customs, they can introduce better.

When the *Tribunes* of the Army have finish'd the Division, and disposed their Affairs as above, they dismiss the Soldiers, till the Time arrives ; upon which they are sworn to meet at the Place nominated by the *Consul*. It happens ordinarily that each *Consul* assigns a different Rendezvous, and order a Separate Meeting of their Legions, each *Consul* having a Moity of the Auxiliary Forces of the *Allies*, and two *Roman* Legions at his Disposal. All who are listed meet without fail at the Time and Place appointed. Nor are any who were sworn admitted to offer any Excuse for their Absence, without some extraordinary Accident or Impossibility. At this Meeting of the *Allies* and *Roman* Forces, twelve *Provosts* commission'd by the *Consuls*, have the Direction of all Matters, and assign to each Man his Duty. But in the first place they proceed to chuse out of the *Allies* who are present, divers Horse and Foot, who are to be near the Person of the *Consul* on all Occasions, which may require an approved Courage, and these are call'd *Extraordinaries*. In all other Respects the Infantry of the *Allies* is equal in number to the *Romans* Legions, but their Cavalry is double ; out of which are usually employ'd for *Extraordinaries* of Horse the Third, and of Foot the Fifth part.

The

The Remainder is divided, and call'd one the Right, the other the Left Wing. In the next place the *Tribunes* take the Legions with their Auxiliaries and encamp them, which they perpetually do in the same Manner and Form. Wherefore I shall proceed in the next place, to shew their manner of Marching, encamping and disposing their Troops in Battle. And here I cannot doubt but all those who have any Curiosity for any commendable Knowledge, will give just Attention to a Matter which is so memorable, and so well deserves their Notice.

This then is their manner of Encamping. Having chosen out a proper Ground, they erect the *Prætorium*, or *Generals Pavillion*, in the most convenient place, to observe what Passes; and give Orders. After they have planted the Standard in the place of the Pavillion, they proceed to set out a Square of Two Acres of Land, each Face being an Hundred Foot distant from the Standard. The *Roman* Legions are posted on that side, which appears most proper for Forrage and Water. There are six *Tribunes* in each Legion, as was before recited; and each *Consul* having two Legions with him, it is evident there must be Twelve *Tribunes* in both Armies. The Tents of these *Tribunes* are erected in

in a right Line, all parts of which are on an equal distance of fifty Foot, from the side of the Square, appointed for them, and this Space is large enough to receive their Horses, their other Beasts of Burthen, and the rest of their Baggage: Their Tents extend all the back of the Square, looking outwards.

And here the *Reader* must observe, That this is the Front of the whole Figure, and that we shall hereafter call it so. The Tents of the *Tribunes* are equally distant from each other, and make in their Tract a Space equal in extent to that of the *Roman Legions* in depth. After this they measure out a Space in the Front, directly opposite to these Tents, and draw a Right Line of equal Length with that on which the *Tribunes Tents* are erected, and Parallel to it. Here they begin to lodge the *Legions*, which is done in the following manner. They divide the former Line in the midst, then draw a strait Line from the Point of Section, and lodge on both sides of this Line, the Cavalry of the two Legions opposite to each other, leaving between an empty Space or Way, fifty Foot broad, through the midst of which the former Line passes. The Tents of the Infantry and Cavalry are disposed in the same manner, the Figure of the Ground which both occupy, making a Square.

This looks towards the Ways or Streets between both, and its length, which is an hundred Foot, is the length of the way, and for the most part it is so contrived, that the depth and wideness have the same measure, except the Lodgment of the Allies, But when that Armies are greater, they increase the Dimensions. But the Tents of the Horse terminating exactly in the midst of the Tents of the *Tribunes*, there is a way which Traverses the right Line before-mentioned, and the Space before the *Tribunes Tents*. For the rest, all Passages are disposed in such manner, that they resemble *Streets* or *Rows*, part Foot, part Horse, being extended along each side.

The *Triarvi* of the Two Legions are Posted behind the Cavalry, of which we have been speaking, each Company answering to the other in the same Figure, in such manner, that although they touch each other on the back, the *Triarvi* face those of the opposite side, and the *breadth* of the way were each Band of the *Triarvi* is posted, does not exceed half its *length*, these being for the most part one half less than the other. For this Reason, though the number of Men be not always equal, and the Space in which they are Posted be different, yet the Length is equal. The

Principes

Principes are Posted opposite to the *Triarvi*, with a Way of Fifty Paces between them; and in going from hence, to the Space which I before-mentioned by the *Tribunes* Tents, there are two other Ranks or Rows, which begin at the same strait Line with the Horse that is at that Space of a Hundred Foot, before the *Tribunes* Lodgment, and terminate at the other end of the Camp, which we before called, *the Front of the whole Figure*.

The *Hastati*, or Spear-Men, are Posted near the *Principes*, but on their Back, like the *Triarvi*, Facing the Horse of the opposite side. Now having observed that each Legion consists of Ten Companies, according to the Division before made, all these Alleys, or Streets, are of the same length, and end in the Front of the Camp, and it is on that side all the last Companies are Posted. In the back of the *Hastati*, at the distance of Fifty Foot, are Planted the Cavalry of the Allies, beginning in the same Line, and ending in the same strait Line with them. The Infantry of the Allies is equal in Number to the *Romans*, but is lessened a third part by taking away the Extraordinarys. And for this Reason, in Encamping, they increase the *breadth*, to equal them in *length* to the *Roman Legions*. After the *Streets* or

Rows are marked out, which never exceed five,
 The Lodgments of the Foot of the *Allies* is next set out, who are planted on the Back of the Horse ; but the depth is increased in proportion ; for the rest, this Infantry looks towards the Retrenchment of the Camp on both sides. But the Captains of each Company take the principal Lodgments on each side. But in disposing the Cavalry in this manner, the sixth Company is separated from the *fifth*, by an Interval of Fifty Foot ; and the same thing is observed in the Infantry. By this means a way is formed which crosses all other Rows, and makes a Line Parallel to to the Range of the *Tribunes Tents*. The *Romans* give it the Name of the *Fifth*, because it runs the whole length of each Fifth Range of Lodgments. As for the void Space behind the *Tribunes Tents* on each side the *Prætorium*, the one side is allotted for the Market, and the other is occupied by the *Quæstor*, and the Ammunition. On each side the *Tribunes*, towards their utmost Tent, a little falling back, are *Voluntiers*, who came into the Army out of Respect to the Consul. These are planted the whole length of the Camp, some on the *Quæstor's* side, others on the side of the Market. In all other respects these are not Posted there, but when the Army Marched, or in any Action, they

Guard

Guard the Consul and Quæstor, being ever near their Persons.

With these they joyn the Flower of the Foot, on the side of the Entrenchment, whose Office is the same with the Horse before mentioned; after them is left a Space of fifty Foot broad, Parallel to the Tribunes Tents, which extending the length of the *Market, Prætorium*, and the *Quæstor's* Apartment, is continued from the Retrenchment on one side, to that on the other. On the upper side of the way the Extraordinary's Horse of the Allies are Planted, opposite to the *Market*, the *Prætorium*, and the *Quæstor's* Quarters, but in the midst of the Tents a Way of Fifty Foot Broad is left, passing before the *Prætorium*, which crossing the other way in that place, Traverses the Camp, making a strait Line from one Intrenchment to the other. Behind these Horse are lodged the extraordinary Foot of the *Allies*, which looks towards the Intrenchment, and the last side of the Camp. The remaining void Space on each side, is allotted for the Reception of Foreigners, or Allies, whose occasions may bring them into the Camp. All things thus disposed, the Form of the Camp is a Square of equal sides, and the Regular Position of the Streets, Tents, and all other things, make it very much

resemble a Town. On every side between the Intrenchment and the Tents, is a vacant Space of two Hundred Paces, very Commodious for receiving a Multitude of different things ; here they keep their own Cattle, and those they have taken from the Enemy in the Night-time. And this Space is very useful, the Enemy not being able, in case he make an Attack by Night, to sling either a Dart or Fire, unless by a great Chance, and then cannot do any considerable Damage, by reason of the greatness of the distance, and the Tents which are about it.

Thus it is easie to know how Spacious the Camp is, and what Number it is able to receive, whether a Legion consisting of Four or Five Thousand Men, since I have shewn the Dimensions of every part, its Streets, and other particulars. But if the number of the Allies be greater, whether they come at first, or after with their Troops, as necessity or occasion require, they are lodged on one side of the *Prætorium*, and the Marker is removed to the *Quæstor's* Apartment, or otherwise, as is thought most expedient, or if the number of those be great, who begin to March, when the Army is too big, a Row is added on each side the *Roman Legions*, towards the side of the Camp. But if the two *Consuls*,

suls, and the Four Legions, joyn in one Camp, you must Fancy them after the manner of two Armies, joyned back to back, dispers'd as before described, and in the place where their Extraordinaries are posted. Thus the Figure will be oblong, the Ground twice as spacious, and the Circuit once and a half greater. In short, whenever the two *Consuls* are in the same Camp, they order every thing in the same manner as when their Camps are separate, except that the *Quæstor*, the Market, and the *Prætorium*, are then in the middle, between both Armies.

After the Encampment is made, all the *Tribunes* meet, and Administer an Oath to every Man in the Legion, as well Freemen, as Slaves, who all, one after another, Swear, *That they will not rob in the Camp; and in case any one finds any thing by chance, he shall acquaint the Tribunes with it.* Next two Companies of the *Principes* and *Hastati*, of each Legion are appointed to guard the *Tribunes Tents*, the Romans sometimes spending whole Days in that Space, for which reason they are extremely curious in keeping it clean. As for the other Eighteen Companies, each *Tribune* draws Three by Lot, for there is in each Division which are made of them, the same number of *Hastati*, *Principes*, and

Six Military *Tribunes*: Out of each Company of these, *Three* serve the *Tribunes* Alternately in the following manner. When the Camp is marked out, these Companies pitch their Tents, erect them, and making the Ground level, and securing the Baggage, if occasion require, they keep Two Watches of Four Sentinels, one of which is kept before the Tents, the other behind, near the Horses. Now each *Tribune* having *three Companies* under his Command, and each Company consisting of a Hundred Men, exclusive of the *Triarvi* and *Velites*, who are not obliged to those Offices; this Charge is not very heavy, they only being in waiting once in Four Days. This Provision is made for the ease of the *Tribunes*, and for Supporting their Authority, and Credit, and Conveniency. The Companies of the *Triarvi* are exempt from all the Duties which the rest perform to the *Tribunes*, but each is obliged to send every Day Four Soldiers to the Troops of Horse, to watch near the Companies behind them. They set a special Guard on the Horse, to prevent them from Embarassing each other, to see that they preserve their Ranks, or by falling fowl on one another, they do not cause any disorder or alarm in the Camp. To conclude, one Company every Day stands Centry at the General's Tent,

Tent, to prevent any Treachery and Ambuscade, as well as for the Grandeur of his Office.

In the last place, the Allies have Orders given to secure, by a Trench and Palisado, two sides of the Camp, and the two remaining are secured by the *Romans*, each Legion having one committed to his care. Now all sides thus distributed, the Captains, who are present to over-see the Work, take care that every thing be done by their Companies, and two *Tribunes* inspect each side in general. These being divided by couples command by turns two Months of the Six, and those upon whom the Lot falls, have the Charge and Administration of all things in the Camp. The Commanders of the Allies observe the same order. As soon as Day-light appears, the Horse-men and Captains present themselves before the *Tribunes* Tents, and the *Tribunes* wait upon the *Consuls*, to receive their Orders; which so soon as they have received, they give to the others who attend, and these to the Soldiers, as occasion requires. For the Watch-Word they proceed in this manner, to avoid being impos'd on. The Soldiers of the Sixth Company of each sort of Infantry and Cavalry, are lodged at the extremity of the Rows, out of these a Man is chose, who
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is exempted from standing Centry. This Man is obliged to come every Day in the Evening to one of the Tribunes Tents, and after he has received the Word which is writ on a small Scroll, returns to his Company, and in the presence of several Witnesses, delivers this Scroll to the Captain of the Neighbouring Company, and in this manner it is handed from one to another, 'till it reach the first Companies which are posted next the Tribunes. Further, it is required that the Word be reported to the Tribunes, by those who receive this Scroll last of all, before Day-light is spent. And by this means they find that the Word has been dispersed through the whole Army, if all the Scrolls which they gave out are reported back. But if any one be wanting, they enquire where the Fault lay, and punish the neglect by a Fine. For the Night-Centry it is manag'd in this manner. One Company, which is planted before the *Prætorium*, serves as a Guard for the General and the *Prætorium*; and the Select Men out of each Company, Guard the Tents of the Tribunes and the Horse.

Each Company has for its Guard, Sentinels drawn out of its own Body, and the General disposes of the Remainder. But ordinarily, *three Sentinels* round the *Quæstor's*

stor's Apartment, and *two* more round the Lodgings of those who are sent from the *Roman State*, to Assist the General with their Advice. Without the Lines the *Ve-lites* keep Guard, standing Centry all along the Retrenchments, which is their Province, and Ten of these wait at each Port. Now the Centry standing Four and Four, the Serjeant of each Company brings to the Tribune, the Four Persons who are appointed for the Duty, and the Tribune gives them several small Scrolls marked, which so soon as each Man has received, he repairs to his Post.

The Horse go the Rounds to see that each Sentinel is well Posted: And the Captains of Horse of each Legion, give their Orders in the Morning to one of their Serjeants, who reports them before Dinner to Four of his Company, who are to go the Rounds that Night, besides which he is obliged to acquaint the next Captain who is to do the same Duty the Night following. This Captain having notice thus given, must perform his Duty, and inform the next proceeding still in the same manner. The Four Soldiers which the Serjeants Selected, having drawn Lots, attend the Tribune from whom they receive a scroll, with the Particulars of the Places and Number of Sentinels they are

are to visit. Then they remain Guard, near the first Company of *Triarvi*, whose Captain has a Command to blow a Trumpet at each Watch.

When the Time is come, he who goes the Round, performs it in the Time of the first Guard, several of his Friends as Witnesses with him risen; he taking which, those who are round each Company of Horse and Foot, as well as those in the Entrenchments, and at the Ports. If he finds those of the first Guard upon Duty, he takes that small Scrowl which we mention'd before; but if he finds any one sleeping, or absent from his Post, he takes witness of those who are present. Those who are order'd to visit during the other Watch, act in the same manner. Further, the Captains of the first Company of the *Triarvi* have Order each on his respective Day, to sound the Trumpet at each Watch of the Night, to assemble those who were appointed Sentry, as well as those who were to go the Rounds. When the Day begins to appear, all those who went the Rounds bring their Scrowls to the *Tribune*; and if there be found to be as many as were given out, they return without receiving any Reprimand; but if they bring fewer, it is easily found by the Scrowls who have

have made Default. Then the Captain is sent for, who brings with him the Men appoinied to the Guard, who are to defend themselves against those who went the Round. And if the Fault lie in the Sentinel, he who went the Round produces his Witnesses ; which if he fails to do, the Blame is wholly charged on him. At the same time the Counsel meets, the Criminal is examin'd, and if he be convicted, he is condemn'd to * * * * *, which Punishment is inflicted in this manner. The Tribune with a Stick lightly strikes the Condemned Person, and after all, the Men of the *Legions* either with Cudgels or Stones knock the Criminal o'th' Head in the Entrenchments: And if he happen to escape their Fury, his Condition cannot be esteem'd much better, whom none of his Friends or Kindred dare harbour under their Roof. For this Reason scarce any one escapes who has the ill Luck to fall into these Circumstances. The Serjeant and the Captains of Horse are subject to the same Punishment, if the Serjeant does not give notice to those who are appointed to go the Round, or the Captain fail to give notice to the Captain of the next Company. Thus they do Religiously observe all the Duties of the Night Guard ; all Faults of this Nature being rigorously punished without
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Hopes of Pardon. The Soldiers are oblig'd to a strict Obedience to their Tribunes, and these to their *Consuls*. In other Matters the Tribunes have Power to impose a pecuniary Mulct to bind to their good Behaviour, to Condemn, be Whipt, or Bastinado'd. The Commanders have the same Power over the Allies, and those who have stole any thing are condemned to the *Bastinado*, those who are guilty of wilful Perjury, or have been surpriz'd, abusing Youth, and those who have been thrice fin'd for the same Offence. All which Faults are punished in the Nature of great Crimes. It is reputed Cowardise and Infamy to boast falsely before the Tribunes of any brave Action, to obtain a Reward; as also, to quit a Post, or leave behind any part of his Arms. For which Reason a great many keep their Post with Bravery, in the midst of the highest Danger, maintain and prefer an honourable Death in the midst of their Enemies, to avoid the Ignominy and Punishment of quitting their Post for Fear. And some who have let their Buckler, Sword, or part of their Arms, force their way thro the thickest of their Enemies, to recover what they have lost, or prevent the Infamy and Reproaches of their Companions.

But if a Multitude have committed the same Fault, and whole Companies press'd by the Enemy, quitted their Post, they do not expose them all to the Lash, or put them to Death, but in this Case they practice an Expedient, which is equally terrible and useful to prevent this Mischiefe. The Tribune having assembled the Army, causes the Offenders to be brought into the midst, and after vehement Reproaches he makes them draw Lots, sometimes Eight, sometimes Twenty ; and to say all in one word, as the number is greater or lesser, they'll single out every Tenth Man. Those whom the Lot falls on are punished without Remission in the manner before described. For the rest, they have Barley instead of Wheat, and are oblig'd to lodge without the Lines. Upon this account, every one fearing the Lot, and the Danger equally threatening all, beside the Ignominy of being reduc'd to Barley, has a mighty Effect to keep every one to his Duty, and oblige them to make speedy Reparation when a Fault once happens to be committed. On the other side the Youth are tempted by mighty Recompences to expose themselves to the greatest Dangers. For when a Battle has been fought, and the young Soldiers have behaved themselves well, the General assembles the Army ; and cal-

calling to him all those who have distinguish'd themselves by some Memorable Action ; he commends their Courage, and if they have at any time before done any thing worthy of Praise, he never forgets to mention it. After this he gives a Javelin to him who has wounded his Enemy, and to a Footman who has dismounted or disarmed him, a Plate, and to a Horseman the Harness and Equipage of a Horse. But formerly all the Recompence that was given was a Javelin. These Prizes are not bestowed on such who have disarmed or wounded an Enemy in a set Battle, or Siege of a Town, but to those Champions who have engaged of their own Accord in a Skirmish or Duel. But in the taking of a City they give a Crown of Gold to those who first mount the Walls. In the same manner the Generals give noble Rewards to those who have saved the Lives of the Citizens or Allies, and those who are preserv'd are obliged by the Tribunes, if they do not of their own Accord do it, to crown them ; and ever after, he who is saved is to respect him as his Father, his Deliverer, and is oblig'd to pay him the same Deference and Respect as a Son pays to his Father. Moreover, by these Means, not only such as are present are encouraged to despise Dan-

Danger, and Rival each other in Actions; but also those that have tarry'd behind in the City. As for such as have obtain'd these Rewards over and above the Honour they receive from their Fellow-Soldiers, and the Fame which quickly spreads of them throughout the City, they at their Return also assist at Publick and Solemn Shows and Entertainment. To such only as have had these Marks of Worth, set upon them, it is allow'd to wear the aforesaid Ornaments. As for others, they content themselves with hanging up in the most perspicuous Parts of their Houses the Spoils and Trophies gain'd from their Enemies; there to remain as Monuments and Emblems of their Merit. It is then but reasonable, that such as have taken so great Care to recompence those that have signaliz'd themselves, should end their Wars with a suitable Success. The Pay of every Foot Soldier is only *Two Oboli* a Day, and of the Horse a *Drachma*. Each of the Foot has Four Bushels of Wheat allow'd him besides by the Month, and every Trooper *Three Septuaxes*, and a half of Oats, and *One Septuax* of Wheat. The Hired Foot have the same Pay and Allowance with the *Romans*, but the Horse have but *two Septuaxes*, and a half of Oats, and Eight Bushels of Wheat allotted them; and this is likewise look'd

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upon to be more Matter of Favour than Obligation. But however, tho the *Roman Soldiers* have Corn, Cloaths, Arms, and whatever else they have Occasion for, allow'd them, yet the *Questor* always deducts it out of their Pay.

The Order of a Roman Armies Marching.

As to what relates to the *Roman* way of Decamping and Marching, it is alter this Manner. At the first sounding of the Trumpet the Tents are taken down, and the Baggage pack'd up ; but here it must be understood that the Generals and Tribunes are always sent first. At the second sounding they load the Horses, and on the third they must begin their March. For the most part the Voluntiers are in the Front : Then follow the Right Wing of the Auxiliaries with their Baggage. After which marches the first *Roman Legion* with its Baggage, and next the second *Roman Legion* with its Baggage likewise ; and lastly, the Left Wing of the Auxiliaries, with its Baggage, bring up the Rear. As for the Horse, they sometimes march in the Rear of all, and sometimes Flank the Baggage for better Security of it. Whenever they have any Apprehensions of the *Enemies* Attacking them in the Rear, they don't
change

change their Order, but only cause the Voluntiers to march thither forthwith; the *Legions* and *Auxiliaries* march thin, that they may all equally have a share in the Forrage and Water.

The *Romans* have another kind of March when they are in any Fear of the Enemy, and are in an open Country. They cause the *Hastati*, *Principes* and *Triarii*, to be divided into three Battalions, and to march at equal Distance one from another. First, they place the Ensigns and Colours in the Front with their Baggage; then the *Hastati* with their Baggage; next the *Principes* and their Baggage; and lastly, the *Triarii*, with theirs, in a manner, that the Army being thus disposed whatever happens, either on the Right or the Left, by a half Turn they may be upon their Guard; the first thing they do is to remove the Standards from that side where the Enemy appears; so that in an Instant, and with one Motion, the Army can be in a Posture of Defence. By these Means the Baggage, and all those who follow the Army, will be found in the Rear, and consequently secur'd from Danger.

When the Army is near the Place where they are to encamp, the *Tribunes* and Captains, which it is customary to choose upon such Occasion, go before,

and mark out the Ground for the *Prætorium*, as likewise consider where it is most proper for the Legions to pitch their Tents. After this they measure out the Circumference of the *Prætorium*, and then draw from thence one straight Line, where are rais'd the Tents of the *Tribunes*, and another on the other Hand, where are pitch'd the Tents of the Legions. The same Lines are drawn out on the other side of the *Prætorium*, according to the Description we have already given. This being done for the laying out the Ground, is no ways difficult; the Distances being easily known, they plant a Standard, first where the *Prætorium* is to stand, and next in the other places mark'd out. Here it must be observ'd, That the *Consul's* Standard is always *White*, when all the others are *Red*. Afterwards they proceed to measure out the Streets, in every one of which they plant a Javelin. By these Means, as soon as ever the Army arrives, they know immediately where to place themselves, and every one can go directly to his Quarters, by the Standard of the *General*.

In their Encampments the *Romans* act quite contrary to the *Greeks*; for whenever the latter designs to pitch their Camp, they always chose Places well fortified by Nature, and this because they would

would avoid the Trouble of Entrenching themselves; and moreover, they never trusted so much to such Fortifications, as to those presented by Nature. Hence it happens that as they are oblig'd to have their Camp conformable to the *Ground* they have pitch'd upon, so also their Quarters must differ, according to the Nature of the place, and consequently their Lodging be always uncertain. But on the other hand, the *Romans* chearfully underwent all manner of Fatigue and Labour, to the end they might Encamp more commodiously. This is what we have thought necessary to say at present, concerning the *Roman* Legions, and their way of Encamping.

*Of the most Famous Republicks
of Antiquity, with their several
Comparisons.*

THE greatest part of Historians have left us their Opinions, That the best Republicks of the World were those of the *Lacedemonians*, *Candiot*s, *Mantineans*, and even of the *Carthagenians*; and there have been likewise such as have cryed up,

those both of *Athens* and *Thebes*. As for my part, I shall say but little, except of these two last, of which also I shall presume to aver, That they neither deserve to have much said of them, since they have arriv'd to no great height; and when as they had reach'd the utmost of their Prosperity, they continued not long in that Station. It is certain, That when they had been unexpectedly rais'd by a Caprice of Fortune, and were thought to be in their greatest Splendor, which was also likely to continue a good while, all of a sudden they have experienced the effects of an unhappy Change. It must be confess'd, that the *Thebans* having perceiv'd an unlucky rashness in the *Lacedemonians*, and the ill-will their Confederates bore them, took occasion from thence to attack them with great Vigour, insomuch that they acquired great Reputation among the *Greeks*, by means of two or three of their bravest Captains. In a word, Fortune soon made it manifest, That it was not the Oeconomy of the *Theban Republick*, that gain'd them so frequent Success, but rather the Courage and Conduct of those who had the Command of their Armies. To confirm this, it is certain that the Rise, Strength and Ruin of the *Theban Commonwealth*, was during the several Lives and Regencies of *Epaminondas* and
Pela-

Pelopidas. For this Reason the Republick of *Thebes* ought not to have so great *Glory* and *Grandeur* ascrib'd to it, since all its *Greatness* is to be Attributed only to the Prudent *Government* of these Famous Men.

We ought to pass the same Judgment on the Republick of *Athens*, which perhaps has been oftner Famous than the former, and which Flourished more than ordinary under the wise Administration of *Themistocles*, but after his Death it degenerated from what it had been before, and became the Sport and Caprice of *Fortune*. It is certain that the People of *Athens* have ever been like a Ship at Sea, without a Pilot, but as soon as the Tempest arose, they have presently agreed together to obey one *Guide*, and each has done his endeavour to Defend and Secure the Publick; but the Danger being once over, and the Clouds dispers'd, they have immediately reasum'd their wonted obstinacy, and despis'd even those Pilots, by whose Means they Sail'd in Security. From hence flow'd a universal Discord; for if one side had a Mind to pursue the Voyage, the other was certainly against it: If one loos'd the Sails, the other would undoubtedly Furl them up; so that whilst they thus continued in dispute,

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they always became a miserable Spectacle to such as regarded them at distance, and likewise all that were in the same Ship, incurr'd the common Danger. By these means it often happen'd, that when they had made a Prosperous Voyage, and surmounted all the Difficulties and Dangers of the Sea, they at length suffered Shipwreck in the very Port. This has been often experienced by the *Common-wealth* of *Athens*, for after having avoided great Perils, by means either of some particular Members, or of their Leaders, they all of a sudden, by I know not what Imprudence, have fell from their former Grandeur, even at a time when there was least to be feared, and all things were in the greatest Tranquility.

I do not think it necessary to continue longer either upon the Republick of *Athens* or *Thebes*, since the first was ever Govern'd by a Multitude who follow'd the Dictates of their Passions, and amongst the Last, Violence and Rage have always taken place. Let us then come to the Republick of the *Candiots*, and consider in that State two things which have been Remark'd by the most Celebrated Writers of Antiquity, such as *Ephorus*, *Xenophon*, *Calisthenes* and *Plato*. First they have averr'd, That this Republick was the same with

with that of *Sparta*; and Secondly, That it was very worthy of Commendation. As for my part, I can find neither of these Assertions true, as I shall endeavour to prove by what follows. But first a Word or two of the difference of these *Commonwealths*. It is said to have been peculiar to the Republick of *Lacedemon*, or *Sparta*, First, that all Persons should enjoy the like Estates. Secondly, That by these means one having no more Wealth, and consequently no more Authority than another, Ambition would be quickly banish'd the *Commonwealth*. And Thirdly, That amongst the *Lacedemonians* their Kings were Hereditary, and Succeeded one another, as also the *Ancients*, by whose Counsels and Advice, all Matters were Govern'd, had the same Authority for their Lives.

But with the *Candoits* every thing was contrary to this, for by their Laws a Man might enjoy as much Estate as he could get, Ambition and Avarice being with them not only necessary, but honourable: In a word, these Vices were so common in this State, that the *Candiots* alone Justified all manner of ways of Enriching themselves. Moreover, in *Candia* their chief Magistrates were chosen yearly, and the State there very much resembled a *Democracy*.

mocracy. This has made me often wonder how these Authors could affirm, That the Republicks of *Sparta* and *Candia* were alike when it is apparent, That they were so very different, for over and above that they have passed by what I have here observed, they moreover have used a great many Words to shew that *Lycurgus* alone, of all Man-kind, knew best how to manage a Common-wealth; and further, that whereas there are two *Things* by which a State *supports* it self, which are Force and Union, they say that by removing Avarice, at the same time they got rid of all *Disorders* and *Intestine Commotions*, and more than all *this*, that the *Lacedemonians* had the best Govern'd Republick of all *Greece*. But having gon on for a good while after *this* manner, they never consider'd that they have compar'd a Government to it which was naturally *Covetous*, whence proceeded so frequent *Disorders* and *Seditions*, and sometimes *Civil Wars*. *Ephorus* also *has* committed the like Error in describing these two *Common-wealths*, but yet he *Names* no *Names*, and you can't know what Republick he *means*, unless you are very intent upon reading him. I will now proceed to give my *Reasons* why I don't think the Common-wealth of *Candia* deserves either to be Commended or Imitated.

As

As I take it, there are two Principles or Foundation of every *Republick*, which are, *to wish for some things, and avoid others*: What contributes towards the Innocence and Purity of a Citizen's Private Condition, and renders Publick Justice easie and natural, is to be wish'd for, when things that occasion contrary Effects are to be as much avoided. As therefore the Customs and Manners of a *Republick* may be allow'd to be Commendable where the Members of it are Honest and Virtuous; so where they are addicted to Avarice, and their Publick Proceedings are Unjust, who may not have leave to affirm, *that their Laws are ill Contriv'd, and the Common-wealth, as well as its Members, are worthy to be blam'd*. Now it is impossible to meet with any People more Cunning and Designing, than the *Candiots*, whose Publick Decrees and Resolutions were also very Unjust. Thus having sufficiently shewn by an exact Comparison, *that this Republick had nothing in it fit to be named with that of Sparta, and that it deserves neither Praise nor Imitation; I think I have nothing left to do but entirely to Reject and Despise it*. I am also of Opinion, *That Plato's Republick is not worthy to be compared with that of Sparta, altho some Philosophers make so great Account*

count of it ; for as that ordains that no Workmen shall be receiv'd into it, who shall not produce some considerable Testimony of his Art, nor no Lutist admitted, who has not been exercent for a good while in that Profession ; so this Republick ought not to be received among others, if it cannot bring some tolerable Instance of its Worth.

In a word, as Matters have hitherto been carry'd, if a Man has a Mind to compare what he reads with the several Republicks of *Sparta*, *Rome* and *Carthage*, he might as well take a Statue, and oppose it to the Living Original ; for tho this Statue might have been handled in all Respects, according to the Rules of Art, yet no doubt all that look upon it will easily discover it wants Life. Wherefore to say no more of the *Commonwealth* of *Plato*, but let us return to that of *Sparta*.

As to what relates to Union among the Citizens, Security of the Country, and Preservation of the Publick Liberty, *Lycurgus* has made so good Laws, and provided for every thing with so much Prudence and Wisdom, that I am of Opinion, *That his Work was rather the Invention of a God than a Man*. In short, the Equality of their States, and their
manner

manner of Living must needs render every Citizen more Modest and Moderate, and prevent Seditions and Insurrections, which might otherwise happen in the *Common-wealth*; moreover, being habituated to Labour (which is commonly look'd upon to be a Badge of Slavery) Men have always become more Robust, and better Soldiers, than without it. And doubtless, when all this meets in a *Common-wealth*; I mean, Force and Temperance, it is not conceivable that Vice can ever spring from such a Soil, or that a Republick of so good Foundation can be conquer'd without much Difficulty. *Lycurgus* having thus establish'd his *Common-wealth* upon so sure Grounds, labour'd farther for the Security of whole *Laconia*, and left the *Spartans* a Liberty, which lasted for many Years. But as to what relates to the Conquests, which might be made upon its Neighbours, and the Conduct of a continued War, it seems to me that he has not thought sufficient upon the Matter, whether we consider this Republick entire, or in Parts; and therefore he was oblig'd to confine his Citizens to Frugality, and no Action, every one being content with his Private Condition, and the Government satisfied under a State of Peace, insomuch, that Moderation and Temperance had then as
great

great an Ascendant over the Publick, as it had over a particular Member of the *Common-wealth*. In truth, as to what concerns a Private Life, or what regards the Laws and Constitutions of the Republick, he has done his part to a Miracle, having remov'd Ambition in a great Measure, tho he could never prevail so far, but that he was forc'd to leave his Countrymen, Ambitious of having Command over the rest of the *Greeks*, and Greedy both of Dominion & Riches; for who does not know that the *Spartans* were the first among the *Greeks* that coveted their Neighbours Territories, and whose Avarice prompted them to declare War against *Missina*, on no other account but that they might sell their Prisoners for Slaves when they had taken them? Who likewise is ignorant, that their Obstinacy extended so far, that they oblig'd themselves by Oath not to quit that Siege till they had taken the City by Storm? Also, every Body has heard, that out of the Desire they had to obtain the *Grecian Empire*, they even submitted to those they had before Conquer'd in Battle, and were not asham'd to obey them that they had formerly Commanded. When the *Persians* invaded *Greece*, the *Spartans* fought generously for the Liberty of their Country, and soon vanquish'd
their

their Enemies; yet even when the *Persians* were fl'd into their own Dominions by the Peace concluded with *Amalordes*, they deliver'd up to them several *Greek Towns*, which they had betray'd, and all this with no other end but to have a Reward, which might put them into a Condition to enslave their Countrymen. It was at this Juncture that they found out the weak side of their Government, tho as long as they aspir'd only to the Conquest of their Neighbours, and at length of *Peloponessus*, the Provisions and Troops which they brought from *Laconia*, suffic'd their Undertaking; they easily made Preparations, and return'd as quickly into their own Country, when their Designs had been accomplish'd. But afterwards, when they began to think of a *Fleet of Ships*, and more *Land Forces*, to extend their *Progress* beyond *Peloponessus*, they were manifestly convinc'd, *That their Iron Money and their Way of Exchange, for what Commodities they wanted, pursuant to the Law of Lycurgus, would not be able to support their Necessities; for they then had occasion for Foreign Troops and Money of a more Universal Currency.*

For this reason they found themselves oblig'd to make their Court to the King of *Persia*, that he would Impose Taxes on,
and

and exact a Tribute from all the Dominions of the *Greeks*, well knowing at the same time, that if they kept but to the Laws of *Lycurgus*, they would not be able to do them any great Harm. But why all this while have we made so large a Digression? For no other end but to demonstrate by the Circumstances themselves that the Republic establish'd by *Lycurgus*, was able alone to defend its own Frontiers, and preserve its own Liberties; and therefore we may safely averr, that for this Purpose only no Republick in the World has been better provided, than that of *Sparta*. But if we will go any farther, and be guided so much by Ambition, as to think to command all the World. In short, if we would have all Eyes fixt upon us, and be Universally obey'd, it must be ingenuously own'd, that the *Commonwealth* of the *Lacedemonians*, was altogether Imperfect, and that *Rome* was much more excellent, its Establishment allowing a greater Facility to raise Forces, and to acquire a Universal Empire. This will manifestly appear by the Testimony of the things themselves. In a word, whilst the *Lacedemonians* endeavour'd to become Masters of all *Greece*; they at the same time laid their Liberty at Stake. On the contrary, the *Romans* having once got a

Sovereign

Sovereign Dominion over the People of *Italy*, easily Subdu'd the rest of the World. But what favour'd their Enterprize most, was their constant Supplies of Necessaries sent them from all Parts.

As to the Republick of *Carthage*, it seems to me, That it was well enough Etablissement in the beginning, it having had Kings or *Suffetes*, (the Name of its chief Magistrates) the Senate also had a Power somewhat resembling an *Aristocracy*; and lastly, the People likewise had considerable Rights and Privileges. In a Word, the Republick of *Carthage* was not much unlike that of the *Romans* and *Lacedemonians*, yet whenas it engaged in the War manag'd by *Hanibal*, it was in a much worse condition than before, and at the same time the *Romans* in a much better. For as all *Common-wealths*, and even every thing else, have naturally a *Crysis*, when they are to arrive at Perfection, so likewise have they a time to decrease and diminish. For inasmuch as the Republick of *Carthage* came to its highest degree before that of the *Romans*, for the same reason it came first to a Declension. Moreover, the People of *Carthage* very much Entrenched upon the Publick *Deliberations* and *Debates*, when the *Romans* were

altogether over-rul'd and guided by the Power of their Senate. Hence it follow'd, that in *Carthage* the People generally gave their Opinions, and Voted in all Matters of State, when at *Rome* they were wholly Silenc'd, and Govern'd by the great Men, in a manner, that at length the *Romans* entirely Vanquished the *Carthagenians*.

Now if we would consider every thing apart, for Example, what relates to War only, we shall find *the Carthagenians* to have been always the best Seamen of *their times*, *they having learn'd that Art from their Ancestors, and moreover, perfected themselves in it, by Experience and Use*; But for Land-Discipline, the *Romans* have ever infinitely surpassed *them*. The reason of *this* was because the latter made it *their* Business to excel by Land, when the former took little or no care of it. Nevertheless, *they* had some regard to *their* Cavalry, because they were obliged to make use of Foreign Troops, when the *Romans* employed only their Citizens and Natives of their own Dominions. In this particular likewise the *Roman Commonwealth* deserves greater Commendation than that of *the Carthagenians*, for these last have always relied upon the Courage
and

and Fidelity of hired Strangers, *when the former trusted only to their own Strength, and the Assistance of their Allies.* Hence it followed that *the Romans, though they were beaten,* could quickly bring an Army into the Field again, which the *Carthaginians* were never able to do. Moreover, the *Romans* Fought chiefly for the Security of their Wives and Children, which are the most powerful Motives to support Courage. Thus, though the *Romans* were always allow'd Inferiour to the *Carthaginians* by Sea, yet did they generally get the better of them by Land ; and certainly, though the Experience of a Seaman be absolutely necessary in Naval Engagements, yet the Courage of a Soldier is no less requisite to gain a Victory by Land. The People of *Italy* have ever had this Advantage naturally over the *Africans*, that they have excell'd them in Vigour, Resolution, and Presence of Mind. Moreover, their many prudent Institutions have very much contributed towards the Perfection of their Youth. It would be necessary to say one thing more to demonstrate the Care the *Romans* have always taken to Educate and Animate their Youth, to the end that they might be ready to undergo any Hardships for the Honour and Safety of their Countrey.

The manner of Burying a Person of Quality among the Romans.

VWhenever any Person of Note dy'd among the *Romans*, over and above the common Honours paid him at his Funeral, they carried him with great Pomp to the place of his Interment, where for the most part, they set him upright, to the end that he might be better seen, and rarely, or never laid him along. *There* all the People being Assembled, his Son, if he left any old enough that was then in the City, or for want of a Son, one of his nearest Kindred mounted the *Tripes*, and made his Funeral Elegy and *Elogium*. By this means the People having before their Eyes the Person that was so powerfully Commended, not only those that had been Witneses of his Actions, but likewise such as had only *heard of them*, were so influenced with his Merits, that from a particular Mourning of one Family, it became a universal Concern. After this, the Body being Interr'd, and its Obsequies decently perform'd, a Statue representing the Deceas'd, was plac'd on the top of his House, in a small Chappel built with Boards. These statues they uncovered

vered on all Solemn Feasts, or Days of Rejoycing, and dress'd them up with several splendid Ornaments. When any considerable Person of the same Family dy'd, they carried these Statues to his Funeral, and to the end that they might more * resemble the Party whom they represented, they added to them the rest of his Body, They moreover cloathed them according to the Dignities that they had enjoy'd when living: for Example, if they had been *Consuls*, or *Patrons*, they put on them the *Prætexta*, or *Laticlavium*; and if they had been *Censors*, a Robe of Purple. But where they had ever Triumph'd, or had any other Honours done them, their statues were cloathed with a Habit all shining with Gold. Next they seated them in a *Sella Curulis*, and caused the *Tasces*, and other Marks of Magistracy, to be carry'd before them, according to the Honours and Dignities they had born in the *Common-wealth*. When they arriv'd at the place design'd, they were separately Seated in several Ivory Chairs, suitable to their Precedency while alive. Young Men who have any regard to Praise and Glory, could not possibly have a greater Incentive thereto, than these magnificent Sights.

* This shows that these Statues were but to the life.

Is it possible to meet with any among these who would not have the most irresistible Inclination to Virtue at the viewing of these great Men, all who had render'd themselves worthy to live still in their Statues? Furthermore, when the Son, or other Relation, had finish'd his Harangue, *he* immediately went upon the other Statues there present, beginning with the Eldest, and reciting all the most Famous Actions of *him* that is represented. By these means Men that had done any thing considerable in the World, were as it were Immortaliz'd, and render'd glorious Exemplars to all Posterity. For what is most to be valu'd in these Ceremonies, is, *That they Animated and Encouraged Youth to behave themselves with the like Conduct or Bravery.* The Truth of this may be confirm'd by an infinite number of Examples, for there are several to be found among the *Romans*, who have ended a lingering War by a Duel, and others who have voluntarily *sacrific'd their Lives to the Publick Good.* There have been some likewise who have Stabb'd even their own Children, for the Benefit of the Publick, shewing that they had greater regard to the Good of their Country, *than the Rights of Nature.* There are
many

many more *such Examples* to be met with among the *Romans*, one of which, I think, is not amiss to relate. It is reported of *Horace*, surnam'd *Cocles*; or the *One-eyed*, That he singly resisted the whole Force of his Enemies Army at the Entrance of a Bridge of the *Tyber*, which he commanded to be broke down behind him, that he might save his Army by their Retreat, which was then like to be worsted. After he had couragiously opposed his Enemies for some time, and received a great many Wounds; and that the Bridge was broke down from behind him, he leaped into the River with his Armour on, exposing himself voluntarily for the Safety of his Conuntry, and preferring a Glorious Death to a miserable life. Thus it is certainly true, that by such Examples as these the Minds of young People have been influenced with Inclinations to Virtue, and the Emulation of great Actions.

Now as to what relates to Men's Private Affairs, and the Ways of Augmenting their *Estates*, the Customs of the *Romans* have been much more Commendable, than those of the *Carthaginians*; for the Latter look'd upon no sort of Gain to be dishonourable and Infamous, providing it were for their Benefit, when the former reckon'd *Bribe-*

ry, *Over-reaching*, and *Extortion*, to be the very worst of Crimes. As much as they valued *Riches honestly got*, so much they abhorr'd all manner of Means of getting them otherwise. What we have said of *Cartbage* may appear true, by their selling all kind of *Dignities* and *Offices*, when at *Rome* it was a Capital Crime so to do. Now since the Rewards given to *Virtue* are different in these two *Republicks*, it ought not to be doubted, but the ways of obtaining them are also different; but in my Opinion the *Romans* excel the *Carthigenians* in nothing more than in the Notions they bare of their God; and I verily believe, that what was reckon'd a Vice among other Nations; I mean, *Superstition*, has in great measure preserv'd the *Roman Republick*. This has been so orderly managed, and introduced both into a *Private Life*, and all *Publick Affairs*, that there remains nothing to be added to it. For my part I believe the *Populace* has been the chief Occasion of its Propagation: For if it were possible to have a *Commonwealth* composed all of *wise Men*, perhaps there would be little or no *Necessity* for it. But as the Multitude are always fickle, and full of *ill-managed Passions*; as likewise easie to be work'd into *Heats* and *Animosities*,

mosities, the only way to *appease them*, and *settle their wavering Minds*, were to restrain *them* by *Specious Dreads*, and these sorts of *Fictions*, which always keep *them* in Awe. Inſomuch, that I think the *Antients* introduc'd the Opinion of *Gods* and *Hell* amongſt the People, with a great deal of Reason; and that on the contrary it is highly unreaſonable for us now-a-days, to queſtion theſe Improbabilities, or to endeavour an Extirpation of the Belief of them.

From hence it happens, that ſhould you have lent a *Greek* only *One * Talent*, I don't mean of the Farmers of the Revenues, altho you had had ten Judgments, as many *Promiſes*, and twice as many *Witneſſes* againſt him; yet would it have been almoſt impoſſible for you to have made him keep his Word. But among the *Romans*, however great the Sums were that you had lent; whether among the *Magiſtracy*, the *Receivers*, or the *Populace*, you would have been punctually paid your Money at the Time and Place appointed. And whereas among other Nations it would have been difficult to meet with any *Honeſt* that were any ways concern'd in the Publick Treafure, ſo with the *Romans* you ſhould rarely hear of
any

* About
600
Crowns.

It were needless to tell you that all *Humane Affairs* must come to a Period; as likewise that they are all subject to change, since *a sole Necessity in Nature is a sufficient Testimony of this Truth*. There are two things, by which, *all Republicks perish, and come to nothing*. The Ill which comes from within it, and the Evil engendred within them. The Knowledge of the former is *Uncertain and Variable*; and as concerning the latter, we have already shown what was first the Form of a *Republick*, what it came to be afterwards, and how one has been chang'd into another. This is manifest by the several Vicissitudes that happen in all *Common-wealths*; for after a *Republick* has surmounted never so many Dangers, and that it has arriv'd at the *utmost Pitch of Glory*, it is certain, that after it has enjoy'd its *Good Fortune for a while*, *Luxury will not fail to slide into it, and Ambition seize upon the Minds of its choicest Members*; which, when they have a little exercised their *Pernicious Supremacy*, the beginning of the Ruine of that State will proceed from *Honours disputed, and Luxury encouraged*. *Pride and Idleness will also very much*

much contribute towards its Destruction, which the People will at length finish. The particular Members also of this Republick will grow uneasie, when they shall believe themselves ill treated by the Avarice of some, and imposed upon by the Flattery of others. For then burning with Rage, they will neither obey the Magistrats, nor take their Counsel, but treat them altogether as their Equals, and perhaps at last attribute all the Power to themselves. The Republick being thus chang'd, it may seem at first to be for the better; and perhaps it may take upon it the Specious and Illustrious Pretence of Liberty; but however, it's supposed happy rest cannot continue long, being become subject to the Government of a blind Multitude, which without Dispute is the most Pernicious in the World. In short, having treated of the Establishment of the Roman Republick, its flourishing Estate, and its difference with all others, I shall proceed to speak of something else.

Now we'll go on, and handle one Particular of that part of our History, which concerns the Time where we began the long Digression we have made, and will moreover, in as few words as possible, explain the Strength and Power of the Commonwealth of Rome at that time. After
Han.

Hannibal's Victory over the Romans at *Conna*, he took 8000 Men Prisoners, whom they had left for Defence of their Camp. To these he granted their Lives, and moreover gave them Liberty to send into their Country for Ransome. Whereupon they deputed ten of the best Quality among them all, whom *Hannibal* caused to swear that they would not fail to return, and consequently set forward towards *Rome*; but there was one among them who feigned to have forgot something; and thereupon return'd to the Camp, imagining he had wholly satisfied his Oath and Honour thereby. As soon as these Deputies were arriv'd at *Rome*, they humbly entreated the *Senate* not to be against Prisoners returning to their own Country, and to permit them to pay each *Three Drachmas* for his Ransom. They told them they had agreed for that same with *Hannibal*; and moreover they urg'd that these Prisoners deserv'd to be allow'd that Favour, insomuch, as they neither could be justly accus'd of Cowardize, nor had done any thing unworthy of a Roman; but that having been left for Defence of the Camp, all their Companions being dead, they were overpower'd by the Numbers of *their Enemies*, and therefore ought not to have that attributed to *Pusillanimity*,
which

which was wholly the Effect of their *bad Fortune*. Notwithstanding all these moving Words, the *Romans*, tho they had had so great a Loss in that Battle, and saw the *Imminent Danger* their Country was like to be expos'd to, yet would they not yield to this Request; for after having heard the Deputies patiently, they presently had Regard to their antient Glory, and consequently forgot not what they had to do; for being maturely consider'd, that the Intention of *Hannibal* was not only to have Money, but likewise to rob them of the Reputation they had gain'd in former Battles, by their giving him a kind of Acknowledgment of his Victory, they were so far from agreeing to the Deputies Demands, that they seem'd not at all mov'd with Compassion neither for them nor theirs, but on the contrary, being convinc'd of *Hannibal's* Designs, they not only refus'd, but prohibited the Prisoners to be ransom'd, and immediately proceeded to make a Decree, *That for the future their Soldiers should either Die or Conquer; for that no Redemption should be allow'd them, if taken Prisoners.*

Thus

Thus the Deputies seeing no *Hopes of Success*, return'd according to their *Parole*, but they first bound and sent away before them that Deputy, who would have disengag'd himself from his Oath. The Conduct of the *Roman Senate*, being related to *Hannibal*, occasion'd him not to rejoyce so much for his Victory, as to be surpriz'd at the uncommon Resolution of the *Romans*, and of that Greatness of Courage, which attended all their Deliberations.

The End of the Sixth Book.

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF
POLYBIUS.

BOOK VII.

*Scituation of the City of Leontium,
in Italy.*

THE City of *Leontium*, taken altogether, looks toward the *West*. In the midst is a great Square upon a gentle Descent, where the Town-Hall stands, and the Market is kept. This place has on each side several unequal and steep Hills, on the Top a Plain, covered with

with fair Dwelling-Houses and Temples. This Town consists of Two Parts, *the South*, and Extream, which lies on the side of *Syracuse*, and the opposite, or *North*, which leads into the *Leontine* Plains, and the Corn Fields; at the foot of the Rock runs a River, which they call the *Lisse*, with a Range of Houses, all at an equal distance from it, and the Way I before mentioned, between the River and the Houses.

*Articles of Agreement between Hanibal;
General of the Carthagenians, and
Xenophanes, Ambassador of Philip
King of Macedon.*

THIS is a True Copy of the Treaty concluded between *Hanibal*, and *Magar Myrcal*, *Barmocal*, *Senators* of *Carthage*, and the whole Body of the Forces then present; and *Xenophanes*, Son of *Cleomachus*, of *Athens*, Plenipotentiary of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*; the whole People of that Kingdom, and the rest of the *Allies*. Which Treaty is solemnly agreed on in the Presence of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Apollo*, in
the

the Presence of the God of the *Carthaginians* of *Hercules* and *Iolus*; in the Presence of *Mars*, *Triton*, and *Neptune*; in the Presence of all those Divinities who are interested in *Martial Affairs*; in the Presence of the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Earth*; in the Presence of the *Rivers*, *Meadows*, and *Waters*; in the Presence of all those Gods, who are Patrons of *Carthage*; in the Presence of all those Gods who have a Concern for the Prosperity of *Macedon* and *Greece*; in the Presence of all those Gods who preside in War, and assist at the present Treaty. *Hanibal*, General of the *Carthaginians*, declares; as likewise do the *Senators*, who are with him, and all the *Carthaginians* in his Army; that according to your and our Intention, this Treaty be in the best Manner that can be, conceiv'd a Treaty of Friendship and Kindness, and that both Parties from hence forward receive each other as Brothers and Allies. And it is resolved that King *Philip*, the *Macedonians*, and all the *Greeks*, their Allies on the one side shall do their Endeavour to preserve and defend the *Carthaginians* Lords, *Hanibal* their General, all other Persons who are with them; All Governors of Provinces under the Dominion of *Carthage*; All who live under the same Laws with them, the In-

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habitants

of *Utica* ; all Cities and Nations; who are Subjects of the *Carthaginian Empire* ; All who bear Arms in their Service ; All Cities in Alliance with them in *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, and all who shall hereafter enter into Alliance with the the same. That in the same manner on the other side all Armies of the *Carthaginians*, the Inhabitants of *Utica*, All the Cities and States, who are Subjects of *Carthage* ; All who bear Arms in their Service ; All the People and Cities of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, Friends and Allies of the *Carthaginians*, or who shall hereafter be so, shall employ their best Endeavours to preserve and defend the said *King Philip*, the *Macedonians*, and the *Greeks* and their Allies with them. That no Clandestine Practices shall be carried on, to each others Prejudice. That both should in the most Open, Sincere, and Unfeigned Manner, be Enemies to all the Enemies of *Carthage*, except such Kings, Cities, or Ports, with which either Party has made any preceding Alliance and Friendship. And in like manner both shall be Enemies to all the Enemies of *King Philip*, except such Princes, States, or Cities, with whom any preceeding Alliance has been likewise made. That the War with the

Romans

Romans shall be a common War, till the Gods shall be pleased to grant each Party Success. That you on your side shall supply us with all Necessaries our Occasions shall require, and shall submit to such Methods as shall be agreed on. That if Heaven shall not vouchsafe Success to our Arms, and we shall be obliged to treat with the *Romans*, and conclude a Peace, it shall be done in such manner, that they shall never have Liberty to declare War against you. That the *Romans* shall remain excluded from their Dominion over *Corfou*, the *Appolionate*, the Inhabitants of *Durazzo*, *Pharos*, *Dionalla*; the *Parthius* and *Atintania*. They shall be oblig'd to deliver up to *Demetrius* of *Pharos* all his Kinsmen and Friends, who shall be found in any part of their Territories. That if the *Romans* commence a War against either of us, we may mutually assist each other as Occasion shall require. The same thing both Parties shall do if any Third shall declare War, except against such Kings, States, or Cities, with which either Party has a preceeding Alliance. In the last place, if it shall be found convenient, this present Treaty shall be

Demetrius of Pharus persuades Philip to keep a Garrison in the Fort of Messina. Aratus dissuades him from the same.

WHEN the Entrails were presented to Philip to View, he took them in his Hand, and turning of the Victim aside, shew'd them to Aratus, demanding of him from what they predicted, if they should quit the Citadel, or maintain a Guard in it? Upon this, Demetrius taking Advice from the Nature of the thing it self, instantly replied, If you suffer your self to be govern'd by Presages and the Rules of Augury, you must quit it without further delay; but if you act like a great and valiant Prince, skill'd in the Art of War, and who is Potent enough to gain Dominion and Empire, you will keep it, and not quit a certain Prize; for the gaining a better Opportunity by this means. Having fast hold of both Horns, you will have the
Beast

Beast in your Power; designing by the two Horns to represent Ithomat; and the Acrocorinthus, and by the Beast Pelopeneus. But Philip turning to Aratus, Do you (says he) advise the same thing; and seeing he stood mute, intreated him to deliver his Opinion. Aratus after a little Pause reply'd, If you can keep it (says he) without violating the Honour and Faith of those Assurances you have given the Messenians, I advise you to keep it. But if you do keep it, and put a Garrison into it, you will that same Time lose all the Fortresses, and with them all the Assistance you have received from Antigonus; by means of which you preserve your Allies (meaning his Honour and Faith.) Consider then whether it will not avail more to keep the Honour of your Word unblemish'd, and by this Means keep the Messenians as well as the rest of the Allies, firm to your Interest. If Philip had follow'd his own Inclination, he would have made no Scruple of breaking his Promise, as we'll see he afterwards did upon several Occasions.

But in this Case the younger *Aratus* having not long before reproached
F 3
him

him with dispensing ; and the elder *Aratus* having deliver'd his Opinion with a great deal of Liberty and Force, conjuring him earnestly not to contemn his Advice, he was restrain'd by a Sense of Shame ; so that taking *Aratus* by the Hand, he cry'd, *Come let's return the same way we came.*

How Antiochus took Sardis by the Help and Courage of a Candiot, named Lagoras.

SEVERAL light Skirmishes happen'd before the Town on both sides continually Night and Day ; the Besiegers and Besieged trying and inventing a Thousand new Artifices to surprize each other. It would be tedious and disgusting ; as well as useless here, to relate Particulars. In the Issue *Lagoras* put an end to that Siege, after it had continued for above a Year.

This

This Man had a long Experience in the Art of War, and had observ'd that the strongest Cities are taken commonly by the Negligence of the Inhabitants who rely too much on the Natural Strength, or the Fortifications which Art has added, keep a slight Guard, or perhaps none at all. He very well knew that Cities are ordinarily taken by means of these Posts which are reputed strongest, even when it appears impossible to Master them. *Lagoras* seeing every one despair'd of reducing *Sardis* by downright Force, and the utmost Hopes of the Besiegers was to gain it by Famine, bent himself with the greatest Application to find Ways and Means of surprizing it, and discovering that part of the Wall which is next *Serra*, where the Citadel joyns the Town was not guarded. He bent all his Thoughts on that side, having discover'd the Negligence of the Besiegers in this manner. This place being very steep, and at the bottom a great Pit, where the Besieged used to fling their dead Bodies, the Entrails of the Beasts which they killed, all sorts of Carrion; there used to resort a great many Vulturs, and others Birds of Prey.

Lagoras observing that when these Birds had fed themselves, they commonly would light, and sit upon the tops of Rocks, and the Walls, they perceiv'd there was no Guard, or any Body thereabout, for the most part encouraged by this Reflection; He approached the place to view it, and observe how best they might fix their Scaling-Ladders. He found this might be done with Ease on one side of the Rocks. I mention'd and acquainted the King with this Design.

The King did not neglect the Opportunity which presented it self, and commanded *Lagoras* to undertake what he had proposed. *Lagorus* assured him he would not spare any Pains on his part, desiring he might be assisted by *Theodorus*, the *Ætolian*, and *Dionysius*, Captain of the Guards, both whom he knew, Daring and Brave Fellows Qualities necessary in such an Undertaking.

The King granting his Desire, they consulted together, and resolved to put this Design in Execution. Upon a time, when the Moon-shine set a pretty while before

before Day; and the Time being pitch on, the Evening before the Execution, they chose Fifteen of the most Robust and Bold Fellows they could find in the whole Army, to plant the Ladders, and scale the Walls. Next, they chose Thirty more, who were to stand at some Distance, and be aiding to them; and when the former had got over the Walls, these should immediately march to the Gate, and both together; the former within, and these without, endeavour to force thro it.

Besides, these Two Thousand Men were planted ready behind them, who had Orders so soon as the way was made, to make up to, and fire the Place of the *Theatre*, which stands on such Advantageous Grounds, it commands both the Cittadel and Town.

And, to prevent any Rumours, being disperfed upon the Account of Selecting Soldiers, they pretended the King had Intelligence; the *Ætolians* had a Design of flinging themselves into the Town; and these Preparatives were in order to defeat the Attempt * * for Execution.

Thus

Thus all things being disposed so soon as the Moon was set. *Lagoras* and his Companions took their Ladders and Climbed a certain Rock. When the day appeared, and the Guards on that side were relieved, and the King had assembled all the Army in Battel array, on the place where they used to run their Horses, they suspected nothing, but when they had fixed the Ladders against the Wall, and *Donysius* began to mount one, and *Lagoras* the other, there was a mighty Noise instantly through the whole Army : The Inhabitants of the City, and the *Achevans* who were in the *Citadel*, could not discern any thing, the view being hindred by a rising Rock which interposed. But the Kings Army had a plain view of those, who mounting and exposed themselves to the greatest Danger, some admiring at their Courage, others fore-seeing the Event, and all in Suspence between Hope and Fear. The King perceiving the impatience which this Attempt Created in the Army, drew his Forces nearer to the Town, setting down against the Port *Perfis*, to conceal from his Men, as well as the Besieged, what he was then about. On the other hand, *Acheus* conceiving all this unusual

usual Disturbance in the Enemies Camp could not be caused by nothing, continued Hesitating sometime, and being ignorant of the Design, was doubtful what Method to resolve on: But *Aribusius*, Governour of the Town, not thinking the Enemy able to do him the least prejudice, drew down towards the Gate which *Antiochus* advanced towards, Commanding some part to Mount the Walls, and others to make a Sally, to Fight and Repulse the Enemy.

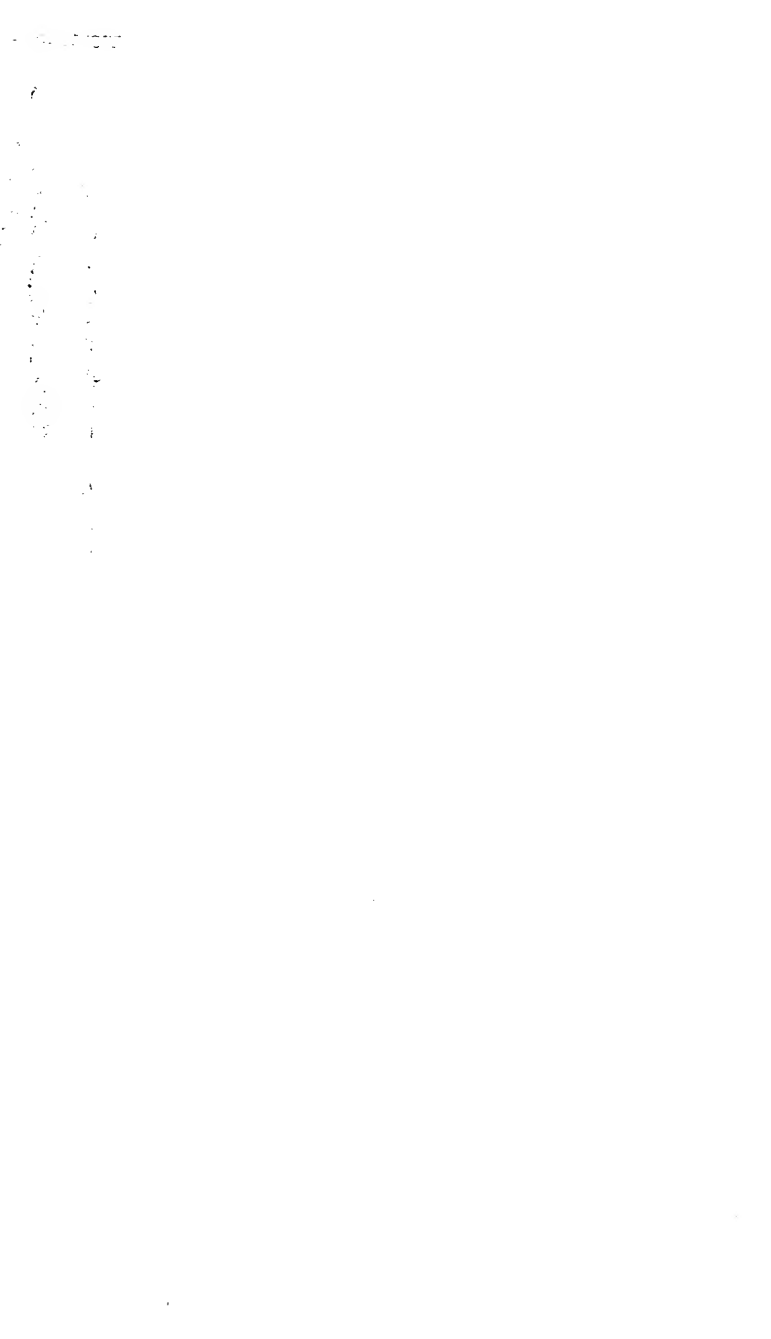
In the mean time *Lagoras*, *Theodorus*, *Dionysius*, and their Company having Climbed the Rocks, came to the Gate below and part forced the Bars and Locks, whilst the other kept off the Enemy, who were come down to attack them at the same time upon a signal given those without, made an attempt, and the Gates being forced, the Two Thousand chosen Men who were ready planted without, made themselves Masters of the Place before the Theater.

Upon notice of this those who were planted upon the Walls, and at the Gate *Perfi's*, to whose assistance *Aribusius* was gone, but a moment before marched

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marched back with all haste to oppose
those who first entred.

But the Gate being now open, the King's Men enter'd so fast, as obliged the Enemy to retreat, whom they pursued. In the mean time, another part of the King's Men forced the other Gates, which obliged *Aribasius*, and the Besieged, after some Skirmishing, to secure themselves in the Citadel. *Theodorus* and *Lagoras* fixed all this while in the *Area*, before the *Theatre*, wisely expecting the Event. In the mean time, the Army entring on all sides, soon became Masters of the Town; some killing all they met, others setting Fire to the Houses, and others loading themselves with what Plunder and Booty they could find. This was the manner and means by which the unfortunate *Sardis* was taken, destroyed, and fell into the Hands of *Antiochus*.

F I N I S.



5/20/36

